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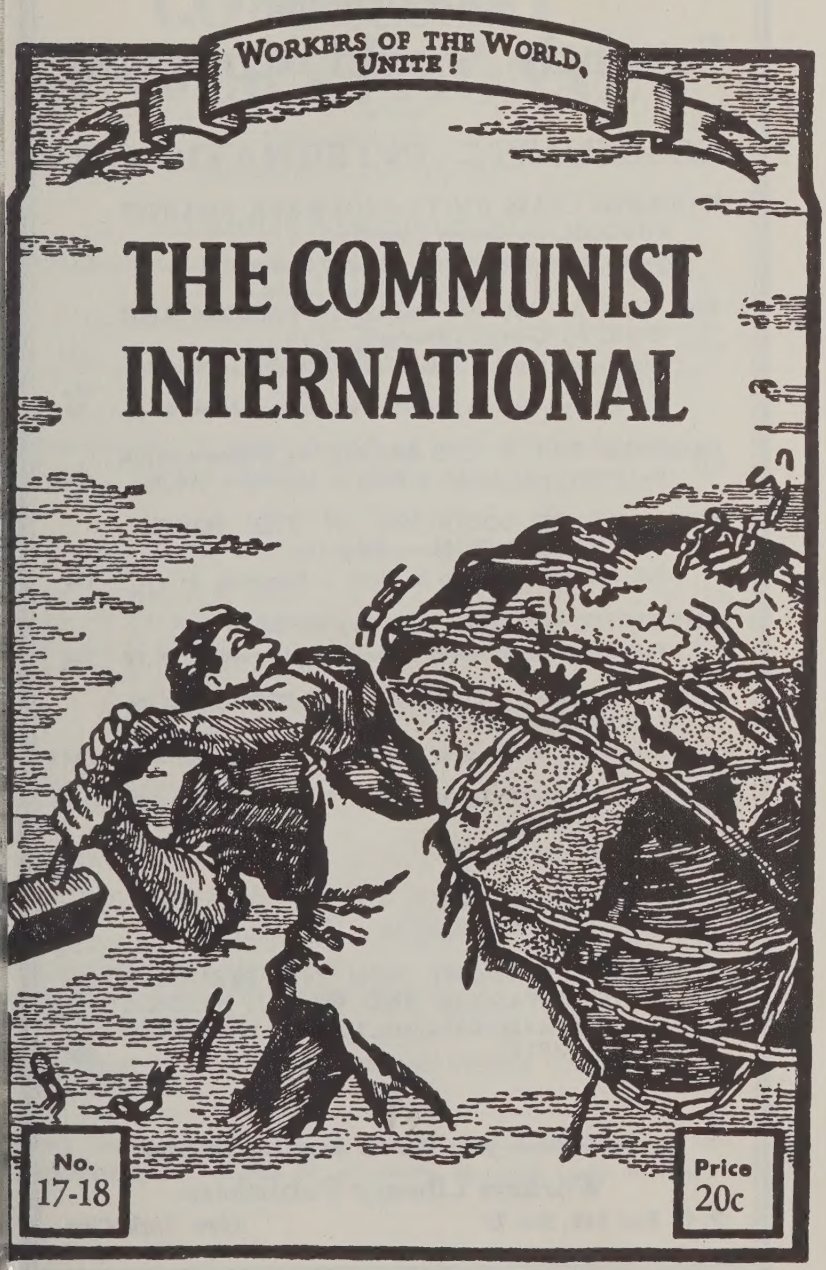

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Materials of the

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THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Published twice a month in English, Russian, German, French, Chinese and Spanish

ol. XII SEPTEMBER 20, 1935 No. 17-18

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GEORGI DIMITROFF

General Secretary of the Communist International

A Congress of the Mobilization of Forces on a Broad Scale Against Fascism and War *

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

(Tempestuous applause accompanies Comrade Dimitroff's appearance on the platform. The delegates rise and shout warm greetings: "Red Front!" "Banzai!" "Hurrah!" "Long live Comrade Dimitroff!" Orchestral flourish. Ovation lasting several minutes.)

COMRADES, the work of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Communists of all countries, of all continents of the world, is coming to a close.

What are the results of this Congress, what is its significance for our movement, for the working class of the world, for the toilers of every land?

It has been the Congress of the *complete triumph of the unity between the proletariat of the country of victorious socialism, the Soviet Union, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries which is still fighting for its liberation.* The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union—a victory of world-historic significance—gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement toward socialism. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers, who are turning more and more to Communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of the hardworking petty townsfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals, the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their attachment for the great fatherland of all the toilers, strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies.

This victory of socialism increases the confidence of the international proletariat in its own forces and in the tangible possibility of its own victory, a confidence which is itself becoming a tremendously effective force against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The union of forces of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the militant proletariat and toiling masses in the capitalist countries holds out the great perspective of the oncoming collapse of capitalism and

* Concluding Address Delivered August 20, 1935 at the Close of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

the guarantee of the victory of socialism throughout the whole world.

Our Congress has *laid down the foundations for so extensive a mobilization of the forces of all toilers against capitalism as never existed in the history of the working class struggle.*

Our Congress has set before the international proletariat as its most important immediate task that of consolidating its forces politically and organizationally, of putting an end to the isolation to which it had been reduced by the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of rallying the toilers around the working class in a wide people's front against the offensive of capital and reaction, against fascism and the threat of war in each individual country and in the international arena.

We have not invented this task. It has been prompted by the experience of the world labor movement itself, above all the experience of the proletariat of France. The great service which the French Communist Party performed consists in the fact that it grasped the need of *the hour*, that it paid no heed to the sectarians who tried to hold back the Party and hamper the realization of the united front of struggle against fascism, but acted boldly and in a Bolshevik fashion, and, by its pact with the Socialist Party providing for joint action, prepared the united front of the proletariat as the basis for the anti-fascist people's front now in the making. (*Applause.*) By this action, which accords with the vital interests of all the toilers, the French workers, both Communists and Socialists, have once more advanced the French labor movement to first place, to a *leading position* in capitalist Europe, and have shown that they are worthy successors of the Communards, worthy exponents of the glorious heritage of the Paris Commune. (*Storm of applause. All rise. Shouts of "Hurrah!" Comrade Dimitroff turns around to face the Presidium and is joined by the entire audience in applauding Comrade Thorez and the other French comrades on the Presidium.*)

It is the great service of the French Communist Party and the French proletariat that by their fighting against fascism in a united proletarian front they helped to prepare the decisions of our Congress, which are of such tremendous importance for the workers of all countries.

But what has been done in France constitutes only initial steps. Our Congress, in mapping out the tactical line for the years immediately ahead, could not confine itself to merely recording this experience. It went further. We, Communists, are a class party, a proletarian party. But as the vanguard of the proletariat we are ready to arrange joint action between the proletariat and the other toiling classes, interested in the fight against fascism. We, Communists, are a revolutionary party; but we are ready to undertake joint action with other parties fighting against fascism.

We, Communists, have other ultimate aims than these parties; but in struggling for our aims we are ready to fight jointly for any immediate tasks which, when realized, will weaken the position of fascism and strengthen the position of the proletariat.

We, Communists, employ methods of struggle which differ from those of other parties; but while using their own methods in combatting fas-

sm, the Communists will also support the methods of struggle used y other parties, however inadequate they may seem to them, if these ethods are really directed against fascism.

We are ready to do all this because, in countries of bourgeois de- ocracy, we want to block the road in the way of reaction and the ffensive of capital and fascism, prevent the abrogation of bourgeois emocratic liberties, forestall fascism's terrorist vengeance upon the roletariat, the revolutionary section of the peasantry and the intel- ctuals, save the young generation from physical and spiritual de- eneracy.

We are ready to do all this because in the fascist countries we want o prepare and hasten the overthrow of fascist dictatorship.

We are ready to do all this *because we want to save the world from ascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.*

(*Here Comrade Weber, a delegate of the German Communist Party, ounts the platform and presents Comrade Dimitroff an album in the llowing words: "Comrade Dimitroff, in the name of the German Com- unist Party Delegation I deliver this book into your hands, a book of e heroic exploits of the revolutionary fighters of Germany. It was you, ho, by your conduct at the Leipzig trial and your entire subsequent tivity, served as an example for the German Communist Party, for the erman anti-fascists, in their struggle. Accept this book, this song of e heroism of the proletarian fighters of Germany, to whom you have rnished an example to follow, who give up their freedom, their health, eir lives in the cause of the revolution!" Comrade Dimitroff accepts e album and warmly embraces Comrade Weber. Loud applause, shouts "Hurrah!" Cheering.*)

Ours is a *Congress of struggle for the preservation of peace, against e threat of imperialist war.*

We are now raising the issue of this struggle *in a new way.* Our ongress is decidedly opposed to the fatalistic outlook on the question of perialist war emanating from old Social-Democratic notions.

It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, that ly the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all war; but it is kewise true that the toiling masses can obstruct imperialist war by eir militant action.

Today the world is not what it was in 1914.

Today on one-sixth part of the globe there exists a powerful prole- rian state that relies on the material strength of victorious socialism. uided by Stalin's wise peace policy, the Soviet Union has already more an once brought to nought the aggressive plans of the instigators of ar. (*Applause.*)

Today the world proletariat, in its struggle against war, has at its sposal not only its weapon of mass action, as it did in 1914. Today the ass struggle of the international working class against war is coupled ith the influence of the Soviet Union as a state, of its powerful Red rmy, the most important guardian of the peace. (*Loud applause.*)

Today the working class of the world is not under the exclusive in- ience of Social-Democracy participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie,

as was the case in 1914. Today there is the World Communist Party, the Communist International. (*Applause.*) Today the bulk of the Social-Democratic workers are turning to the Soviet Union, to its policy of peace, to a united front with the Communists. Today the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries do not regard their liberation as a hopeless cause. On the contrary, they are passing on more and more to determined struggle against the imperialist enslavers. The best evidence of this is the *Soviet revolution in China* and the heroic exploits of the *Red Army of the Chinese people.* (*Stormy applause. All delegates rise. Loud cheering.*)

The popular hatred of war is constantly gaining in depth and intensity. In pushing the toilers into the abyss of imperialist wars the bourgeoisie is staking its head. Today not only the working class, the peasantry and other toilers champion the cause of the preservation of peace, but also the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars. Even some of the big capitalist states, afraid of losing out in a new redivision of the world, are interested *at the present stage* in the avoidance of war.

This gives rise to the possibility of forming a most extensive front of the working class, of all the toilers, and of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will of millions upon millions of toilers to have peace, our Congress has opened up the perspective of unfolding a wide anti-war front not only for the Communist vanguard but for the working class of the whole world, for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the axe of the powerful anti-war front. (*Applause.*)

Ours is the Congress of the *unity of the working class*, the Congress of struggle for a united proletarian front.

We entertain no illusions on the subject of the difficulties which the reactionary portion of the Social-Democratic leaders will place in the path of realising a united proletarian front. But we do not fear these difficulties. For we reflect the will of millions of workers; we serve the interests of the proletariat best by fighting for a united front; and the united front is the surest road to the overthrow of fascism and the capitalist order of society, to the prevention of imperialist war.

At this Congress we have raised aloft the banner of *trade union unity.* Communists do not insist on the independent existence of the Red trade unions at all costs. We, Communists, want trade union unity. But this unity must be based on actual class struggle and on putting an end, once and for all, to a situation in which the most consistent and determined advocates of trade union unity and of the class struggle are expelled from the trade unions of the Amsterdam International.

We know that not all those working in the trade unions affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions have understood and assimilated this line of the Congress. Among these workers there are still

emnants of sectarian self-satisfaction which must be overcome if the me of the Congress is to be carried out firmly. But we shall carry out his line whatever the cost, and shall find a common language with our lass brothers, our comrades in the struggle, the workers now affiliated ith the Amsterdam International. (*Loud applause.*)

At this Congress we have taken the course of forming a *single lass political party of the working class,* to end the political split in the anks of the proletariat, a split caused by the class-collaboration policy f the Social-Democratic Parties. To us the political unity of the work-ng class is *not a maneuver* but a question of the future fate of the ntire labor movement. Should there be any people in our midst who pproach the question of the political unity of the working class as a aneuver, we shall fight them as people bringing harm to the working lass. Precisely because our attitude on this question is one of absolute eriousness and sincerity, dictated by the interests of the proletariat, e lay down definite fundamental conditions to serve as the basis for uch unity. We have not invented these fundamental conditions. They re the result of the experience gained from the sufferings of the prole-ariat in the course of its struggle; they are also in accordance with the ill of millions of Social-Democratic workers, a will engendered by the ssons of the defeats suffered. These fundamental conditions have been sted by the experience of the entire revolutionary labor movement. *Applause.*)

Since proletarian unity has been the keynote of our Congress, it as been not only a Congress of the Communist vanguard, but a Con-ress of the entire international working class thirsting for militant ade union and political unity. (*Applause.*)

Though our Congress was not attended by delegates of the Social-emocratic workers nor by non-party delegates, though the workers erded into fascist organizations were not represented, the Congress as spoken not only for the Communists but also for these millions of orkers. It has expressed the thoughts and feelings of the overwhelming ajority of the working class. (*Applause.*) If the labor organizations of arious trends were to hold a really free discussion of our decisions mong the workers of the whole world, there is no doubt in our minds ut that they would support the decisions for which you, comrades, have oted with such unanimity.

So much the greater our duty as Communists to render the decisions our Congress in actual fact the property of the entire working class. o have voted for these decisions is not enough. Nor is it enough to opularize them among the members of the Communist Parties. We want he workers affiliated with the parties of the Second International and he Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions as well as he workers affiliated with organizations of other political trends to iscuss these decisions jointly with us, bring in their amendments and ake practical proposals; we want them to deliberate jointly with us ow these decisions can best be carried into life, how they can best realize hem in practice jointly with us, hand in hand.

Ours has been a Congress of a *new tactical orientation for the Communist International.*

Standing firmly on the impregnable position of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the entire experience of the international labor movement, and primarily by the victories of the great October Revolution, our Congress, acting in the spirit and guided by the method of *living Marxism-Leninism,* has reshaped the tactical lines of the Communist International to meet the changed world situation.

The Congress has taken a firm decision that the united front tactics must be applied *in a new way.* The Congress is emphatic in its demands that Communists do not content themselves with the mere propaganda of general slogans about proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power, but that they pursue a definite, active, Bolshevik policy with regard to all internal and foreign political questions arising in their country, with regard to all urgent problems that affect the vital interests of the working class, of their own people and of the international labor movement. The Congress insists most emphatically that all tactical steps taken by the Communist Parties be based on a sober analysis of actual conditions, on a consideration of the relation of class forces, and of the political level of the broadest masses. The Congress demands the complete eradication of every vestige of *sectarianism* from the practice of the Communist movement, as this represents at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the Communist Parties carrying out a really mass, really Bolshevik policy.

While imbued with the determination to carry out this tactical line and filled with the conviction that this road will lead our Parties to major successes, the Congress has at the same time taken into account the possibility that the carrying out of this Bolshevik line may not always be smooth sailing, may not always proceed without mistakes, without deviations, here and there to the Right or to the "Left"—deviations in the direction of *adaptation, of trailing behind events and the movement,* or in the direction of *sectarian self-isolation.* Which of these constitutes, "speaking generally", the main danger is a dispute in which only scholastics can engage. The greater and worse danger is that which at any given moment and in any given country represents the greater obstacle to the carrying out of the line of our Congress, to the development of the correct mass policy of the Communist Parties. (*Applause.*)

The cause of Communism demands not abstract but *concrete struggle against deviations;* the prompt and determined rebuff of all harmful tendencies, as they arise, and the timely rectification of mistakes. To replace the necessary concrete struggle against deviations by a peculiar *sport*—hunting imaginary deviations or deviators—is an intolerably harmful twist. In our Party practice every encouragement must be given to develop initiative in formulating new questions. We must assist in having the questions concerning the activity of the Party discussed from every angle, and not hastily set down as a deviation every doubt or critical remark made by a Party member with reference to practical problems of the movement. A comrade who committed an error must be given an opportunity to correct it in practice and *only those who*

stubbornly persist in their mistakes and those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy.

Championing as we do working class unity, we shall with so much the more energy and irreconcilability fight for *unity within our Parties.* There can be no room in our Parties for factions or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us. (*Applause.*) Let this be a warning to those few elements in individual Parties who think that they can take advantage of the difficulties of their Party, the wounds of defeat or the blows of the raging enemy, to carry out their factional plans, to further their own group interests. (*Applause.*) *The Party is above everything else!* (*Loud applause.*) *To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eyes is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!*

Ours is a Congress of *Bolshevik self-criticism and of the strengthening of the leadership of the Communist International and its Sections.*

We are not afraid of pointing out openly the mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in our ranks, for we are a revolutionary party which knows that it can develop, grow and accomplish its tasks only if it discards everything impeding its development as a revolutionary party.

And the work which the Congress has accomplished by its merciless criticism of self-satisfied sectarianism, of the use of cut-and-dried schemes and stereotyped practices, phlegmatic thinking, substitution of the methods of leading a party for the methods of leading masses—all this work must be continued in an appropriate manner in all Parties, locally, in all links of our movement, as this is one of the most essential preconditions for correctly carrying into life the decisions of the Congress. (*Applause.*)

In its resolution on the report of the Executive Committee, the Congress resolved to concentrate the *day-to-day leadership* of our movement in the Sections themselves. This makes it our duty to intensify in every way the work of forming and training cadres and of reinforcing the Communist Parties with genuine Bolshevik leaders, so that at abrupt turns of events the Parties may quickly and independently find correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and the Plenums of its Executive Committee. The Congress, when electing the leading bodies of the Communist International, strove to constitute its leadership of such people as accept the new lines and decisions of the Congress, and are ready and able firmly to carry them into life, not from a sense of discipline, but out of profound conviction. (*Applause.*)

It is likewise necessary in each country to ensure the correct application of the decisions adopted by the Congress. This will depend primarily on appropriately testing, distributing and directing cadres. We know that this is not an easy task. It must be borne in mind that some of our cadres did not go through the experience of a Bolshevik mass policy, but were brought up largely along the lines of general

propaganda. We must do everything to help our cadres reorganize, to be retrained in a new spirit, in the spirit of the decisions of this Congress. But where the *old bottles* prove unsuited for the *new wine*, the necessary conclusions must be drawn—not to spill the *new* wine or spoil it by pouring it into the *old* bottles, but to replace the *old* bottles by *new* ones. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, we intentionally expunged from the reports as well as from the decisions of the Congress *high-sounding phrases* on the revolutionary perspective. We did this not because we have any ground for appraising the tempo of revolutionary development less optimistically than before, but because we want to rid our Parties of any inclination to replace Bolshevik activity by revolutionary phrasemongering or futile disputes about the appraisal of the perspective. Waging a decisive struggle against any reliance on spontaneity, we see and take account of the process of development of the revolution, not as passive observers, but as active participants in this process. By proceeding as the party of revolutionary action—fulfilling at every stage of the movement the tasks that are in the interest of the revolution, the tasks that correspond to the specific conditions of the given stage, and soberly taking into consideration the political level of the wide toiling masses—we accelerate, more than in any other way, the creation of the subjective preconditions necessary for the *victory* of the proletarian revolution.

> *"We must take things as we find them,"* said Marx. *"We must utilize revolutionary sentiments in a manner corresponding to the changed circumstances."* *

This is the gist of the matter. This we must never forget.

Comrades! *The decisions of the World Congress must be brought home to the masses, must be explained to the masses, must be applied as a guide for the action of the masses,* in a word, *must be made the flesh and blood of millions of toilers!*

It is necessary to encourage everywhere as much as possible *the initiative of the workers in their respective localities,* the initiative displayed by the lower organizations of the Communist Parties and the labor movement in carrying out these decisions.

When leaving here the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat must bring to their respective countries the firm conviction that we, Communists, bear the responsibility for the fate of the working class, of the labor movement, the responsibility for the fate of our own nation, for the fate of all toiling humanity.

To us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world—a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but *temporary* rulers.

The proletariat is the *real master, tomorrow's master of the world.* (*Loud applause.*) And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hand the reins of government in every country, all over the world. (*Applause.*)

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* Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann*, p. 38, International Publishers, New York.

We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great teachers. (*Applause.*)

With Stalin at their head, the millions of our political army, overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers, must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of Socialism throughout the whole world! (*Storm of applause.*)

Long live the unity of the working class!

Long live the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International!

(*Loud applause, passing into an ovation. The orchestra plays the "Internationale" in which all the delegates join. Cheers from the various delegations: "Long live Stalin!" "Long live Dimitroff!" 'Hurrah!" "A triple 'Red Front'!" The French delegation sings the "Carmagnole"; the Czech delegation, "The Scarlet Banner"; the Chinese delegation, "March of the Chinese Red Army"; the Italian delegation "Bandiera Rossa"; the German delegation "Red Wedding". Shouts from the delegations: "Long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff!" "Hurrah!" Applause. Thorez: "Hurrah for the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for the Communist International and its helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff!" Renewed shouts of "Hurrah!" The orchestra plays the "Internationale".*)

Between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International*

By WILHELM PIECK

HISTORICAL TEST OF THE TWO PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT

COMRADES, seven years of hard and costly struggle waged by the toiling masses against their oppressors and their exploiters separate the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International from the Seventh. These seven years have brought about a great change in the relation of class forces all over the world and have provided the proletariat with extremely rich revolutionary experiences.

The events that immediately followed the Sixth World Congress confirmed our analysis of the prospects of the revolutionary movement. We were right when we said that the development of the revolution in China, the uprising in Indonesia, the gigantic demonstrations in Europe and America against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, the general strike in Great Britain in 1926, the July events in Vienna in 1927 and the great spread of the strike movement in most of the capitalist countries that began in 1927 were symptoms of the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge. We foretold the continuance of this upsurge. The Congress set the Sections of the Communist International the task of organizing and leading the growing struggle of the toilers against the exploiting classes.

Because of the necessity of defending the vital interests of the toiling masses, of intensifying their ability to fight increasing exploitation and oppression, because of the necessity of rallying the masses for this struggle, there devolved on the Communists, as the Ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1928 stated, the task of laying down a more precise and distinct

> ". . . political line of their own, fundamentally differing from the line of the reformists both on all general political questions (war, attitude toward the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, India, Egypt, etc.) and on questions of the day-to-day struggle of the working class (against arbitration, against wage reductions, against a longer working day, against supporting the capitalists in the matter of rationalization, against 'industrial peace', etc.)."

In tactics, this political line of the Communists found expression in the slogan "class against class"—the class of the proletarians against the class of the bourgeoisie.

The tactics of "class against class" were directed against the bloc of the Social Democrats with the bourgeoisie and aimed at destroying

* From the Report on the Activity of the E.C.C.I. made to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

the bloc of the Social-Democratic leaders with the bourgeoisie. These tactics were not aimed against the united front of the Communists with the Socialists for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, presupposed it. They aimed at creating a revolutionary leadership of the economic and political struggles of the proletariat. In pursuing these tactics of "class against class" a number of sectarian mistakes were committed. While the Communists in Great Britain were right in putting up their independent candidates against the Labor Party leaders in the parliamentary elections and fighting on their behalf, it was wrong for the small Communist Party to concentrate all its attention on its own candidates and to make but little effort to have candidates put up by labor conferences of local trade union and Labor Party branches. While the Communists in Germany acted rightly in definitely disassociating themselves from the Social-Democrats and conducting a ruthless struggle against Zoergiebel and Severing, it was wrong of the Communists to disassociate themselves also from the Social-Democratic workers and to call them "little Zoergiebels". While it was right for the Communists in 1928 and 1929 in Germany, France, Great Britain and a number of other countries, in view of the conditions that existed at that time, not to make proposals for a united front to the Social-Democratic leaders, it was wrong to interpret the decisions of the Communist International as meaning that our comrades must not make such proposals to the local organizations of the Social-Democrats and of the reformist trade unions.

Owing to this defective application of our tactics of "class against class", and frequently even to the distorted idea that these tactics supposedly precluded the united front, our Sections in this stage of the struggle failed to achieve the success they might have achieved. It was only when the upsurge in the strike movement began and the Social-Democrats opposed this movement, set the state arbitration machinery in motion and began to stifle the strikes that the revolutionary tactics of the Communists gained the sympathies of large numbers of workers. Our Sections began to understand how important for the struggle of the workers was the organization of independent strike committees elected by the workers themselves.

But here too the Communists committed many sectarian errors. They were unable to clinch their influence organizationally in the reformist organizations and among the unorganized workers. By organizing strike struggles, the Communists strengthened the spirit of class struggle among the proletariat, although the Social-Democrats were advocating economic peace and preaching "Mondism" and the like. Nevertheless, the Communists frequently committed the mistake of continuing a strike even after the majority of the strikers had returned to work. As a result, they frequently isolated themselves from the broad working class masses.

With the help of the slogan demanding independent leadership of strikes by the revolutionary minority, the Communists helped to bring about strikes and to free revolutionary trade union work from the fetters of the reformist trade union apparatus. But in carrying out this

slogan the first essential task of a revolutionary minority was ignored, namely, to secure the consent of the majority of the workers of a given factory to the declaration of a strike and to create an independent strike leadership elected by the strikers themselves.

Although the Communists acted rightly in coming out against the traditional aristocratic attitude of the reformists toward the unorganized workers and in favor of drawing the unorganized workers into the strikes and onto strike committees, nevertheless, a number of Communists, particularly in Germany, went so far as to underrate the importance of the organized workers and the influence of the reformist trade unions not only among the organized, but also among the unorganized workers.

The Red International of Labor Unions was right in setting the task of smashing the monopolist claim of the reformist trade union bureaucracy to decide on economic struggles, a monopoly it utilized only in order to prevent such struggles. But the decision of the Strassbourg Conference at the beginning of 1929 went beyond this aim when it declared that "it is the task of the strike leadership and strike committees independently to prepare for and to lead the strike struggles *in spite of and in opposition to the reformist trade unions*". This also applies to the instruction that "in the election of committees of action in the case of lockouts and of strike committees and other organs of struggle, all persons connected with Social-Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy are to be rejected on the grounds that they are strike-breakers".

The experience of the struggle has also shown that the reformist trade union leaders, under the pressure of the increasing sentiment of the masses in favor of a strike, have not always been able to reject the strike, and therefore the tactics of the united front were both feasible and necessary. The opportunists in our ranks advocated the view that in the matter of strikes, pressure must be brought to bear on the reformist trade union bureaucracy through the trade union members, but that in the event of the trade union leaders rejecting the strike, their decisions must be abided by. It goes without saying that we had to combat this opportunist view. But, on the other hand, it was a mistake to think that it was opportunism to exert pressure on the reformist trade union bureaucracy at all through the trade union members, which was the interpretation given to our opposition to the Brandlerite slogan, "Zwingt die Bonzen" ("Make the leaders fight") in Germany and later in other countries.

In spite of these sectarian mistakes, the influence of the Communists among the organized working class masses grew very rapidly. It was for this reason that the reformist trade union leaders began to expel Communists from the trade unions in Germany, Great Britain, the United States and in a number of other countries.

The Communist Party in Germany adopted quite correct fighting tactics against these measures, recommending its followers to sign the declarations demanded by the reformist trade union leaders to the effect that they would submit to trade union discipline, in order thereby to make it possible for them to remain in the trade unions. The growing

indignation of the revolutionary workers over the expulsions and over the reformist policy of splits, induced many Communist functionaries to issue a pseudo-radical and utterly sectarian appeal not to pay membership dues. Naturally, this was immediately taken advantage of by the reformist trade union leaders in order to proceed still more vigorously with the expulsion of the opposition.

This policy of the reformists demanded the organized consolidation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, particularly in Germany and Poland; and indeed, in 1928 and 1929, certain successes were achieved. But here again a sectarian mistake was committed: the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition was transformed into new trade unions and, as a result, found itself isolated from the greater mass of members of the reformist trade unions. Another mistake was that our Sections in other countries mechanically took over this decision of the German Communist Party, ignoring the absolutely different concrete situation existing in their own particular countries.

In spite of all this, the fact remains that in the pre-crisis period, especially when the economic strike was the principal form of development of the class struggle, the Communists were the chief initiators and leaders of the strike struggle in a number of countries. During this period the Communist Parties gained in political strength, and their ideological influence among the masses markedly increased. But they still did not become a force that was fully able to utilize the new situation that had come about with the outbreak of the economic crisis in the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

In the autumn of 1929 the industrial crisis began in America, became interwoven with the agrarian crisis in the peasant countries and the crisis in the colonies, and spread with extraordinary rapidity all over the capitalist world.

The tactical task of the Communists during the crisis was to prevent the burden of the crisis from being laid on the backs of the starving and freezing masses by organizing the struggle. The central strategic point of the struggle in connection with these tactics lay in Germany.

But the working class entered this struggle internally divided. The Social-Democratic Party, the oldest and largest workers' party, was corroded by the rust of reformism and, in the conditions of the crisis, stood for class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Only the comparatively young and, in many countries, still insufficiently influential Communist Party stood for irreconcilable class struggle. *Class collaboration with the bourgeoisie or class struggle*—this controversy was still rending the ranks of the proletariat and enfeebling its forces.

In all countries the Communists led the fight against evictions of unemployed, for non-payment of rent and in favor of the granting of additional relief by the municipalities in money and kind—potatoes, coal and so forth.

This fight was an extremely difficult one. It was only by the creation of a network of unemployed organizations and by big demonstrations, in the course of which sharp clashes with the police frequently took place, that it became possible to wring concessions from the bour-

geois state and its organs in favor of the unemployed.

As a result of this struggle, it became possible in a number of countries to ease the lot of a section of the unemployed and to offer vigorous resistance to the impairment of social insurance legislation. However, it was not possible to prevent such impairment.

If, in spite of the stubborn fight put up by the advanced section of the unemployed, this movement was not more widely developed and converted into a struggle of the broad masses of the toilers, and if, in 1932, the unemployed movement in a majority of the countries even began to subside, it was owing to the following causes:

1. The criminal sabotage and the direct resistance shown by the Social-Democratic leaders to the demands and the movement of the unemployed prevented the securing of a tangible improvement in the conditions of the vast mass of the unemployed, which evoked disappointment and passivity in the latter.

2. The Social-Democratic Party prevented support being given to the unemployed movement by the strike movement of the employed workers, who remained passive in face of the poverty, want and starvation of the unemployed.

3. We succeeded in enlisting only an insignificant part of the unemployed, about 10 or 20 per cent, in the active struggle, the majority of the unemployed remaining passive.

4. Not all the forms and methods of struggle were tried which might have aroused public opinion much more powerfully and have won the greater sympathy of the whole people for the struggle of the unemployed. This could not be secured by political demonstrations alone, which at times did not even pursue a concrete aim. We all remember what a great impression the hunger marches in Great Britain and the United States produced throughout the world. But how much greater would the impression on public opinion have been if all the hungry unemployed, together with their wives and children, had really come on to the streets with the simple demand for bread and relief.

5. Nor were the Communists able to popularize slogans the concrete nature of which might have mobilized the unemployed in the struggle against capital, or to link up the masses in the factories with this struggle.

We are referring to such demands as the confiscation of stocks in favor of the unemployed, extra taxation of the capitalists, the taking over of factories that were standing idle or in which wholesale discharges were taking place, and so forth. It is true that in certain countries such demands were put forward by the Communists, but in most cases this was not done in good time, they were not popularized on a large enough scale, and, what is most important, no serious fight on their behalf was undertaken.

6. Not all the ways of securing public and government relief for the unemployed were discovered. I should like here to quote only one example taken from the Soviet Union. In 1921, when famine raged in the Soviet Union, the masses of the people compelled the priests of the reactionary Christian church to surrender to the masses, for the purpose

f assisting the starving, the gold and silver they had hoarded. The nasses of the people in Germany, the United States, Austria, Poland nd other countries should have similarly compelled the wealthy, the hurch and the government to open up their treasuries for the unemployed who were dying of starvation.

What is also beyond doubt is that the fatalistic attitude of the ocial-Democratic leaders that nothing could avail against the elemental orce of the crisis exerted its influence on the whole proletariat. In the adership of the unemployed movement there was far too much sheer gitation and far too little initiative in the organization of a real struggle. he Communists, who had been able, it is true, to organize thousands nd tens of thousands of unemployed, had still not learned to draw illions into this movement.

That is why when the fascists in Germany began to organize charity up kitchens for the unemployed, a part of the unemployed swallowed is bait, were duped by the propaganda of *Volksgemeinschaft* (the mmunity of interest of the whole people) and turned away from the volutionary struggle. The activity of the movement also subsided in her countries.

I now come to the *strike movement* in the period of the crisis. That e Communists were not able to mobilize the industrial workers for the rike struggle in the early years of the crisis (1930 to 1932) and that e latter remained deaf to the strike calls of the Communists, was owing the sabotage of every strike movement by the reformist trade union aders and to the Social-Democratic ideology that held that no strikes uld be conducted during the crisis. The influence of the Communists nong the trade union workers in the factories was also very much minished by the mass expulsion of Communists from the trade unions.

But finally, in 1932, the workers in a number of countries nevereless began more and more frequently to undertake spontaneous fights aced with the growing strike sentiment of the masses, the trade union aders felt themselves obliged to join in strike struggles and even to lead rikes.

Despite the Social-Democratic policy of preventing big conflicts, oups of advanced toilers time and again resorted to the political ruggle against capital and pointed to millions and tens of millions people the right road to follow.

But why did the stormy movements of the toilers remain but a ash in the pan, producing no important results in the struggle for peration? Why were they not transformed into a political mass struge against the bourgeois state?

The causes lie in the following four main weaknesses:

1. These movements were largely spontaneous, undertaken without rious preparation, without joint organization of all forces, without ncrete fighting aims. They were only to a minor extent movements response to the call of the Communist Party.

2. True, the Communist Party endeavored to provide these movents with concrete slogans, to widen their scope and to raise them to higher level of mass political consciousness, but the Social-Democratic

Party and the reformist trade unions opposed this with all their might and main. The Communist Parties were still not strong and influential enough to organize the masses who had spontaneously undertaken the political struggle and to give them firm guidance.

3. Communists, Social-Democrats, and unorganized workers participated in these movements. These masses, who had entered the struggle spontaneously, would have held together longer and could have been led further in the struggle only if a united front had been created between the Communist and Social-Democratic organizations. But the Social-Democratic Party was opposed to such a united front and rendered it impossible. It would, moreover, have been necessary to create permanent organs to lead the struggle, elected by the masses and consisting of Communists, Social-Democrats and unorganized workers, organs which would have enjoyed sufficient authority among the masses to draw increasingly large numbers into the struggle and at the same time to ensure revolutionary leadership of the whole movement. Such organs, however, were not created.

4. It is true that the idea of creating such permanent organs was conceived in the unemployed movement. But the city and district unemployed committees formed here and there by the Communists were neither organized on a sufficiently broad basis nor enjoyed sufficient authority among the masses to accomplish this great task. Nowhere did they become in any way notable political centers, focal points for the sympathies of all the toilers, nor did they become the affair of the whole class.

Under the conditions that prevailed in the crisis, the Communist Parties had to assume very big and difficult tasks in leading the masses; the Communists had to count in millions and to attempt to include all strata of the toilers in the fighting front. In fulfilling these tasks the Communists gave many brilliant examples of good work. But in face of the rapid and politically complicated development of events, they often came out too late with their slogans, did not always correctly estimate the relation of class forces and frequently persisted in slogans and fighting methods which somewhat earlier had been correct, but which had become antiquated with the change in the situation.

It is true that the Communist Parties had grasped the important decisions of the Sixth World Congress to the effect that a new revolutionary upsurge was impending. But they often did not sufficiently realize that a revolutionary upsurge is not separated from a revolutionary crisis by a Chinese Wall. They often entertained very simplified notions of the manner and means by which the masses of the workers would break with their old reformist leaders and come over to the side of the revolutionary struggle.

In a number of cases the Communists also overestimated the political maturity of the masses and believed that hard and strenuous work was no longer required to train the masses for the political struggle and to convince them of its necessity. They believed that it was sufficient to carry on propaganda in favor of Soviet government and to explain to the masses the program which the Communists would carry into effect when they had seized power, in order to persuade the workers to

accept their leadership. These false ideas led several Communist Parties to become transformed at times into mere propaganda organs for our program, instead of combining propaganda in favor of our program with the task of supplying the masses at the proper time with slogans that would mobilize them for the struggle at the given stage.

In their trade union work, the Communists failed to note what Comrade Stalin had said on May 9, 1925, to the Moscow Party functionaries:

> "If the Communist Parties wish to become a real mass force capable of advancing the revolution, they must link up with the trade unions and rely upon them for support."

Comrade Stalin pointed out that some Communists

> ". . . do not understand that, good or bad, the rank and file worker regards the trade unions as his citadels, his strongholds, which help him to maintain his wages, his working day, and so forth."

And it was precisely in the time of the crisis, when utter misery fell to the lot of the toiling masses, that the rank and file worker felt very strongly that his trade union, however bad it might be, was nevertheless able to give him legal aid and certain material assistance, even if slight, that his trade union was a definite power—and he therefore did not want to break with it.

In a number of countries the Communists made the mistake of ignoring these sentiments of the masses, did no work in the trade unions and failed to change their attitude toward the trade unions in good time and to pass from the united front only from below to a united front with the organizations. In Germany, certain Communists, in face of the fascist offensive, even spoke of the necessity of "destroying" the reformist trade unions, thereby helping to isolate the Communists from the organized workers.

In America, the Communists for a long time declared that the American Federation of Labor was a purely capitalist strike-breaking organization, they saw only its leader, Green, and overlooked the workers.

It was with still greater delay—in Germany, even only after the advent of Hitler to power—that the Communists issued the clear slogan of defending the Free Trade Unions, followed by the slogan of restoring the Free Trade Unions. It took a long time before the importance of work in the trade unions was grasped by the Communists in the other countries.

On the other hand, a mistake equally as grave as the underestimation of the fascist danger was the fact that fascism was discerned even where it did not exist. This mistake was due to the fact that a number of Communist writers gave a mechanical interpretation to the declaration of the Sixth Congress that the bourgeoisie was increasingly endeavoring to resort to fascist methods of rule.

In Germany, the Communists for a long time held the view that the Social-Democratic Hermann Mueller government was carrying out fas-

cization, that the Bruening government was already a government of fascist dictatorship. On the other hand, they underrated the Hitler movement, by the assumption that in a country like Germany, where the working class was so highly organized, the Hitlerites could not possibly seize power, and that the petty-bourgeois masses who were spontaneously flocking to the Hitlerites would just as rapidly turn away from them.

These erroneous ideas of the nature of fascism, and the failure to make a serious study of Italian and Polish facism, resulted in the Communists being unable to launch slogans at the proper time calling for the defense of the remnants of bourgeois democracy against fascism, which was assuming the offensive, and to take advantage of the antagonisms within the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

In Germany, the Communists waited until the election of the Speaker of the Prussian Diet in 1932 before they declared that they would vote for the candidates of the Social-Democratic Party and the Center in order to prevent the election of fascists.

Even in Poland, where after 1926 the Communists studied fascism more diligently than in many another country and issued slogans to the masses calling for a struggle against the liquidation of the remnants of bourgeois-democratic liberties, the Communists, when the Center-Left bloc was created, were unable to take advantage of the differences between the government camp and the camp of the bourgeois-democratic opposition.

These mistakes were due to the absolutely false conception that all bourgeois parties are fascist, that there are "no two methods of bourgeois rule", and that it was unseemly for Communists to defend the remnants of bourgeois democracy. As long as we cannot replace bourgeois democracy by proletarian democracy, by the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat is interested in retaining every scrap of bourgeois democracy in order to use it to prepare the masses for the overthrow of the power of capitalism and to achieve proletarian democracy.

Such sectarian views, which have nothing in common either with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, or with the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, retarded the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties and especially hampered the work of winning over the Social-Democratic workers for the joint struggle.

In this period of our struggle the backwardness of our work of winning allies for the proletariat among the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie was strongly felt. It is true that we overcame the fundamentally disdainful attitude and the craft arrogance of the old Social-Democratic Parties with respect to the petty bourgeois masses, an attitude which considered it beneath the dignity of the proletariat to bother about the petty bourgeois masses. Yet, if we exclude Poland and the Balkan countries, the Communists in most countries before the outbreak of the crisis had hardly passed beyond the stage of recognizing only in principle the necessity for work among the urban and rural petty bourgeois masses.

Although the influence and the weight of the Communist Parties mong the toiling masses grew enormously, the Communists were not rong enough to break the influence of the Social-Democratic Party and ade union leaders among the worker masses and thus to prevent the asses from abstaining from the struggle purely from a sense of scipline.

The weakness of the working class, caused by its divided condition nd the betrayal of the interests of the workers by the Social-Democratic arty, enabled the German bourgeoisie to take advantage of the vacilla- ons of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry in order to draw these ata temporarily into the camp of fascism. The German Communists d not promptly realize the extraordinary significance of the yoke of e Versailles Treaty, which imposed untold burdens on the toiling masses d were not skillful enough to utilize in the interests of the class uggle the situation thereby created. They allowed the German bour- oisie to make the hatred felt, for the yoke of Versailles serve for the aintenance of their own rule.

* * *

The victory of fascism in Germany has not initiated a long period reaction, as the Social-Democrats prophesied. On the contrary, "*ascen- ncy toward the rapid maturing of the revolutionary crisis*" is to be served all over the world, as the Thirteenth Plenum emphasized. roughout the world "the idea of storming the citadel of capitalism is turing in the minds of the masses", as Comrade Stalin formulated at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.

In this situation the Soviet Union is increasingly winning the minds d hearts of the toilers, and is showing them the path of struggle. this situation, the victory of socialism is inducing millions to change ir views and opinions completely. In this situation a change is taking ce in the sentiments of the vast numbers of workers, and especially the sentiments of the Social-Democratic workers and the workers anized in the reformist trade unions.

The first expression of this change was, first, the *united front* of world proletariat, spontaneously created on a wide scale for the ense of the prisoners of Leipzig, where the courageous defense of mmunism by Comrade Dimitroff was of great historical importance the achievement of a united front. Secondly, the resort of the work- to active resistance against fascism in their own country. The letariat no longer yielded to fascism without a struggle, as was the e in Germany, but replied to the fascist attack with a *general strike* rance in February 1934 and an *armed struggle* in Austria in Feb- ry 1934 and in Spain in October 1934.

But why, unlike the armed insurrection of October, 1917, in Russia, the armed struggle of the proletariat in February, 1934, in Austria, in October, 1934, in Spain, not result in the victory of the proletariat?

In *Spain*, the monarchy was overthrown in April, 1931, as it was thrown in Russia in February, 1917. The Spanish bourgeois-demo- ic revolution began. Unlike the Bolsheviks, who in the Soviets

fought for continuing the revolution, the Spanish Socialists joined the Azana government, thus following the example of the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, who became Ministers in the Kerensky government.

What did the Spanish Socialist Ministers do? What did the whole Spanish Socialist Party do during the three years of the revolution, that same Socialist Party that summoned the workers to armed struggle in October, 1934?

Instead of insisting on disarming the reactionary fascist Civil Guard, the Spanish Socialists voted for the appropriations for its further extension, and supported the establishment of the so-called "Storm Guard" which like the Civil Guard was a shock detachment of the counter-revolution against the workers and peasants. Instead of demanding the elimination of reactionary officers and the democratization of the army, they gave the reactionaries in the army an absolutely free hand. Instead of disarming the enemies of the people, the fascists, and arresting them, they persecuted the Communists and passed a law for the defense of the republic, a law under which the participants in the October fighting—the Socialists and Communists—are now being sentenced.

The Socialists left the land, property and rights of the reactionary church and monasteries intact, and did not give land to the peasants, who should have been won for the revolution. They did not introduce workers' control over production; they did not improve the condition of the workers, nor did they arm them for the defense of the revolution. Instead of forcing the reactionary bourgeoisie into an impasse, they permitted it to organize and arm. By so doing they weakened the proletariat and strengthened the fascists.

In *Austria*, there was no revolutionary situation, as there was in Spain, until the beginning of the armed struggle. But the Austrian proletariat had the advantage that the overwhelming majority of the workers were organized in one party and in trade unions following the leadership of this party, and that the numerical weight of the proletariat was extremely great in this little country.

But the Social-Democratic Party, which had the following of 90 per cent of the Austrian proletariat, was not a revolutionary party that had methodically and systematically made preparations for the struggle for the victory of the proletariat. As early as the revolution of 1918-20 this party had aided the bourgeoisie to gain the upper hand, resting content with the fact that the working class retained formal democratic rights and a few social gains.

When the fascists began their struggle against bourgeois democracy, the Social-Democratic leaders yielded ground step by step, surrendering one achievement of the revolution of 1918 after another.

The fighting strength of the bourgeoisie grew, while the fighting strength of the proletariat diminished. The belief of the toiling masses in the possibility of an improvement of their conditions under Social-Democratic leadership began to vanish.

It is a ridiculous attempt on the part of Otto Bauer now, after the Austrian Social-Democratic Party has by its conduct disorganized the

ilers and failed to prepare for the struggle, to try to prove that he llowed the example of the Bolsheviks, only adapting the tactics of the Asiatic" Bolsheviks to "European" conditions.

Armed insurrection must be prepared in such a way as to be the fair of the entire working class. The majority of the proletariat must e won over to it; furthermore, the support of the majority of the ilers is indispensable. The Spanish and Austrian Socialists, however, duced insurrection to an affair of the fighting formations.

If the armed insurrection is to be successful, the most favorable oment for the proletariat must be chosen. The Spanish and Austrian cialists, however, let the initiative slip from their hands long before, llowing the fascists to appoint the day of battle.

For armed insurrection to be successful, the masses must clearly ow the fighting aims pursued by the insurrectionaries. The Spanish d the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders, however, did not formulate ch fighting aims. They did not resort to arms in order to overthrow e bourgeoisie but merely intended to bring pressure to bear on the urgeoisie and to defend themselves against its onslaught.

In 1917, the Russian proletariat created the *Soviets*, organs capable embracing all workers, peasants, employees, soldiers and sailors with- t exception.

Within the Soviets the Bolsheviks fought for the leadership of the asses. The Bolsheviks transformed the Soviets into organs for pre- ring and carrying out the proletarian insurrection.

In Spain, on the contrary, Largo Caballero declared that Soviets re not needed in Spain, because the whole working class was organized trade unions and in parties. Is that true? No, it is not. In Spain, in every capitalist country, the majority of the workers are not ganized.

By opposing the establishment of Soviets, Largo Caballero and the anish Socialists wanted to turn insurrection, which can only be an air of the whole working class, into an affair of the Socialist Party, of a bloc of parties, in order to restrict the movement and to prevent from assuming a mass character.

In Austria, Bauer and Deutsch did not think of creating mass gans for preparing and leading the struggle, but, in true Blanquist shion, left the armed struggle entirely to the fighting Schutzbund, o were fighting in isolation. All they had to do was to summon the asses to action in order within a few days to establish organs that uld have been able to mobilize the masses of toilers for the struggle d in order to organize support for the fighting Schutzbundlers. In at way the course of the subsequent fighting would have changed en- ely in favor of the proletariat.

But the Austrian and Spanish Socialists saw fit, even at the moment armed struggle, to ignore the experience of the Russian revolution. ousands of proletarians have paid with their lives and unspeakable ture for the fact that the Russian experience was ignored.

We acknowledge the great fact that both in Spain and Austria ne of the Social-Democratic leaders, even if under the pressure of

the masses, decided in favor of the armed struggle against the bourgeoisie. In this the Communists vigorously supported them.

In Spain, the Communists joined the Workers' Alliance, although they enjoyed no serious influence in it. In Spain, as in Austria, the Communists fought in the front ranks, for the place of Communists is always where the fighting is in progress. But it is precisely the experience of these armed struggles under Social-Democratic leadership that shows that under such leadership the proletariat cannot succeed.

The successes gained in the armed struggle in Asturias, where a Red Guard was organized, and where under the leadership of the Communists the armed struggle assumed the dimensions of a regular insurrection, confirm what the Russian revolution had already proved, namely, that a *Communist, Bolshevik leadership* is essential if the armed struggle of the proletariat is to be successful. But neither in Spain nor in Austria was there such leadership owing to the weakness of the young Communist Parties. And so the revolutionary elements among the Schutzbund drew the correct conclusions when they joined the ranks of the Communist Party, thus indicating that they do not consider the struggle at an end.

The struggle in *France*, which assumed big dimensions in February, 1934, in its external aspect remained on a lower level than the struggles in Spain and Austria; but owing to the fact that the fight of the French proletariat was directed against fascism in good time, it exerted a *greater influence* on the development of the proletarian struggle in all countries.

What is the distinctive feature of the struggle in France?

When the fascist bands for the first time marched en masse through the streets of Paris, the French proletarian did not let itself be lulled by the theory of the lesser evil and by talk of formal democracy, as was the case in Germany, but at the first fascist sally flocked into the streets to oppose fascism without distinction of party in the tremendous political demonstration of February 9 and the political general strike of February 12, 1934. In this way the French proletariat *repulsed the first big attack of the fascists.* (*Applause.*)

By this action the proletariat compelled the French Socialist Party, although after great vacillations, to consent to the establishment of a united front with the Communist Party. In this way, it laid the foundation for united anti-fascist actions of the whole organized labor movement, which are exerting a tremendous influence on the unorganized majority of the working class and the petty bourgeois masses in town and country.

Our Communist Party of France, considerably grown and full of big initiative, has, however, not remained content with the establishment of a united front with the Socialists, but has drawn up a program of demands that cut the bourgeoisie to the quick.

By its actions, the Communist Party of France has laid the foundation for a broad people's front in the fight against fascism and war, which is attracting increasing numbers of the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, drawing followers of the Radical

Socialist Party into the movement and making the revolutionary proletariat more and more the hegemon, the leader, in the struggle of all the toilers.

The struggle of the French proletariat is one of great international importance. The success of the French proletariat, which repulsed the first mass attack of the fascists in February, 1934, thanks to the united front of the Communists and Socialists, and which effected its great march on fascism on July 14, 1935, has shown the toilers of all countries that only a united fight of the toilers based on revolutionary tactics can repel the offensive of capital and fascism and foil the warmongers.

The fight of the French proletariat has shown the toilers how the proletariat must act in capitalist countries in order to repulse the attacks of fascism and to fit itself for the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism. The united front agreement between the Socialists and the Communists in France, which the Socialists accepted only under the pressure of the masses and against the will of the Executive Committee of the Second International, has pointed the way to be followed by the Left Social-Democrats of all countries.

United front agreements have been reached between the Communists and Socialists in Austria, Spain and Italy, while united front mass action of the workers is taking place in England, the United States, Poland, Czechoslovakia and many other countries where the Socialist Party leaders, like the Executive Committee of the Second International, continue to reject all agreements with the Communists.

The united front movement of the toilers is making headway in all capitalist countries, no matter what the attitude of the Social-Democratic leaders may be towards the practice of agreements with the Communists, and no matter how these leaders may fear the revolutionizing effect of a united front with the Communists upon the masses they lead.

The movement for the united front is much more than the arithmetical sum of the forces of two workers' parties. The majority of the working class in the capitalist countries is unorganized and in many countries still follows the bourgeois parties. The united front of the labor movement represents such an increase of strength as to make it a powerful force of attraction for the mass of proletarians who are still not class conscious, detaching them from the bourgeois parties and enrolling them in the class struggle.

* * *

Today, more than ever before, the development of historical events depends on the degree of class consciousness and the state of organization of the working class, on the skillful and clever tactics of the Communists, on the might and strength of the Communist International.

In his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in January-February, 1934, Comrade Stalin said:

> "Some comrades think that as soon as a revolutionary crisis occurs the bourgeoisie must drop into a hopeless position, that its end is predetermined, that the victory of the revolution is assured, and that all they have to do is to wait for the bour-

> geoisie to fall, and to draw up victorious resolutions. This is a profound mistake. The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory. Moments occur when the situation is revolutionary, when the rule of the bourgeoisie is shaken to its very foundation, and yet the victory of the revolution does not come, because there is no revolutionary party of the proletariat sufficiently strong and authoritative to lead the masses and take power. It would be unwise to believe that such 'cases' cannot occur."

We must confess that such "cases" frequently occur, that such "cases" may be repeated if we do not take Comrade Stalin's warning to heart and do not do everything necessary to strengthen the Communist Parties and to see to it that they are able to win over the majority of the proletariat.

The period that elapsed between the Sixth and the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, was, as I have already said, a period in which the working class masses swung over to the revolutionary struggle, a period in which the influence of the Communist Parties among the masses rapidly grew, and at the same time, a period in which the Communist Parties became organizationally and politically consolidated.

The political and organizational consolidation of the Communist Parties was effected in the course of a struggle against the Right elements which were urging the Parties to capitulate to Social-Democracy. Soon after the Sixth World Congress the Rights began to oppose the line of the congress: in Germany, Brandler, somewhat later in the United States, Lovestone; in Czechoslovakia, Jilek; in Sweden, Kilbom; and in France, Sellier and later Doriot.

Nevertheless, neither in Germany nor in the United States of America, neither in Czechoslovakia nor in France did the Right opportunists succeed in gaining the following of any appreciable sections of the Party membership. Only in Sweden did the Kilbom group succeed, thanks to the inadequate explanatory work carried on by the followers of the Comintern and to their mistakes, in splitting the Swedish Communist Party and in winning a section of the revolutionary workers away from the Communist International.

In the fight against the Rights, and simultaneously in the fight against the "Left" sectarian views which tended to isolate the Party from the masses, the Communist Parties became sufficiently steeled to counteract opportunist influences.

By the internal consolidation of the Parties, resulting from the experience accumulated in the new stage of struggle and from the serious work performed in training cadres, the Communist Parties rose to a new and higher level. This is borne out by the heroic struggle of the Chinese Red Army, which is headed by peasants, agricultural workers and students who during these seven years have been trained by the Party and have developed into capable organizers and leaders of the masses, into proletarian statesmen.

This is borne out by the work of the Communist Party of Germany, e work of the lower ranks of Party cadres who, in spite of the frequent organization of the central leadership by the Gestapo (the secret lice) and the frightful medieval terror, have been able to orient themves independently in complex political questions, to publish thousands illegal newspapers and to organize the struggle of the workers against e National Socialists. This is borne out by the skilful tactics of e Communist Party of France, which have led to the establishment a united front and to the amalgamation of the masses of the people the fight against the fascist offensive. This is borne out by the tober fighting in Spain, where only five years ago there was still but insignificant group of Communist propagandists led by semi-Trotskyelements, who later even broke away from the Communist Internanal, but where in the past few years a strong Communist Party s created which led the armed fighting in a large part of Asturias.

The past seven years have shown the world that wherever the toil- masses took up the fight against the imperialist yoke, against the ndering of the toilers by high finance, the banks and the trusts, the ht in the interests of the freedom of the peoples and the culture of manity, the Communists have fought in the front ranks.

During the past seven years the world was able to convince itself the steadfastness and self-sacrifice, the boundless devotion of the ilres of the Communist International to the cause of the struggle for ancipation of all who are exploited and oppressed.

Remember the stand made by Comrade Dimitroff at the Leipzig al, remember the trials of Rakosi in Hungary, Antikainen in Finland d Fiete Schulze in Germany, remember the heroic deaths of Comrades u hsu-po, Lütgens and Kofardzhiev, and remember, finally, the nurous heroes and victims of the great struggle for emancipation in all ntries of the world.

Faced by the rapid abandonment of reformism by the masses, faced the danger of proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie are abolishing last remnants of bourgeois-democratic liberties and the organizans of the proletariat, including the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions.

As a result of this offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working ss organizations, only 22 of the 67 Sections of the Communist Internanal in the capitalist countries, and only 11 in Europe, are able to work ally or semi-legally. Forty-five Sections, 15 of them in Europe, are iged to work under conditions of strict illegality and under a gruene terror. Among them are countries like Italy, Germany, Austria d Latvia, where the fascists have smashed all the organizations of proletariat, including the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade ons, and are forcibly driving the workers into the fascist organizations.

I now come to the condition of our Sections from the point of view organization. Our Sections in all countries have grown politically d numerically. But their organizational growth does not correspond the growth of our influence, and the result of this may be that the mmunist Parties may not be equal to the tremendous tasks which

the political situation imposes on them in the matter of leading the masses.

The organizational growth of the Sections of the Communist International in countries where the movement is legal at present being primarily hindered by a number of shortcomings in recruiting new members, in the work of educating them and in building up the Party organizations. This is especially borne out by the so-called "fluctuation" as expressed in the fact that newly won Party members either never actually join the ranks of the Party or leave it after a few months. Many of the workers newly recruited by the Party have still inadequate political training and are not sufficiently active and disciplined. The Party organization must devote a great deal of attention to them and train them to become fighting Communists and active Party functionaries. But this is just what the old members often fail to do.

The organizational growth of the Sections of the Communist International in countries where the movement is *illegal* is hampered by police persecution, and by the fear that provocateurs may penetrate into the organization. Yet in the illegal Sections the new members are as a rule better trained, better disciplined and more active. But here too big defects are to be observed.

Very often the cells are not political organizations which discuss various political questions, and this state of affairs is by no means occasioned by motives of secrecy. The cells are frequently merely organizations for collecting membership dues or for distributing Party functions.

In many organizations both in the legal and illegal Sections, a veritable *sectarian* fear of an influx of former Social-Democratic workers prevails. In many of the organizations in Germany this sectarian spirit reached such lengths that either special conditions of admission were drawn up for former Social-Democrats or they were organized in special cells; frequently excessive political demands were also made on them. Such an attitude towards the former Social-Democrats bears witness to a complete lack of understanding of the change of spirit that is taking place among the Social-Democratic masses.

This change of spirit is borne out in the case of our Austrian Party, over two-thirds of the membership of which today consists of comrades who only a year ago belonged to the Social-Democratic Party, who are now faithful, devoted and active members of the Communist Party of Austria. And this is true not only of former rank-and-file members of the Social-Democratic Party, but also of former Social-Democratic functionaries.

I should like here to stress two particularly important groups of tasks in the organizational work of our Parties, tasks that as a matter of fact have been most neglected. They are *work among women and work among the youth.* In this present situation particularly there exist in all countries the most favorable conditions for winning the women and the youth for the revolutionary struggle.

The decisive condition for successful mass work of the Communists

and for winning of the masses by the Communist Parties is Communist work in the *trade unions* and in other organizations embracing the working class masses. Unless influence over the members of these organizations is secured, there can be no question of winning the majority of the working class for the Communist Parties.

In those countries where the working class organizations have been smashed by the fascists, the Communists will not be able to extend their influence to the broad working class masses unless they utilize every legal and semi-legal opportunity, unless they work in the fascist trade unions in Italy and Austria and in the ranks of the so-called Labor Front in Germany, and unless they fight in these organizations to win influence over the masses and to lead the masses.

Our slogan in the fight to win the majority of the proletariat for the Communist Party is: *Extend the front, penetrate deeper into the mass organizations!*

The aim of our work within the Party is to *strengthen the Party and to raise the political level of the Party organizations!*

In general, I should like to emphasize only one point. An increasing number of Communist Parties that at the time of the Sixth World Congress still represented purely propagandist groups are now being transformed into mass parties and are becoming serious political factors in their own countries. In all the Communist Parties of the larger countries, *leaderships* faithful to our principles have been formed who are able, on the basis of the decisions of our congresses and plenums, to decide the most complex political and tactical questions of their countries independently.

This changes the functions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and enables the E.C.C.I. to devote the greater part of its activities to working out the fundamental political and tactical positions of the international labor movement. In doing this it naturally must be guided by the concrete conditions and peculiarities of each particular country, must make it a rule to avoid interfering in the internal organizational questions of the individual Parties and must assist all the Parties to strengthen their truly Bolshevik leadership in the matter of agitation and propaganda and in utilizing the experiences of the world Communist movement internationally.

We must lend considerably greater scope to our work and now there must not be a single question either of the home and foreign policy of the countries or of the mutual relations between the Parties and groups to which the Communists do not devote their attention and do not adopt a definite attitude in order to exert their influence on the whole course of historical development.

* * *

What are the prospects of world development, what are the prospects of the world revolution? The capitalist system has been shaken to its foundations by the development of the general crisis of capitalism, by the world economic crisis, by the increasing revolutionizing of the toilers and by the symptoms of a political crisis that are manifesting themselves in many countries.

The forces of the bourgeoisie have grown weaker; the forces of the proletariat have grown stronger. The relation of forces on a world scale has changed to the advantage of socialism and to the disadvantage of capitalism.

The Soviet Union has become the most powerful and important factor in the world struggle for socialism. While at the time of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International the U.S.S.R. was still a comparatively weak State, possessing no large-scale industry worth mentioning, today the Soviet Union has economically and politically become a powerful socialist country, based on a developed heavy industry and the best modern technique.

Today, the U.S.S.R., by its whole policy is exerting a daily increasing influence on the fate of world capitalism and on the development of the struggle for emancipation of the world proletariat and the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In this steadily increasing influence of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union on world development and on the consciousness of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries is expressed the world-wide significance of the victory of socialism in a single country, a victory which cannot remain an isolated one but which will lead to the victory of socialism throughout the entire world.

From the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the unlimited prospects for the further development of the Soviet Union towards socialism, we derive the certitude that our influence over the masses of the entire world will increase with enormous rapidity, that the victory of socialism will cause the working class of all countries to turn to Communism and will lead to the victory of socialism all over the world.

But the capitalist system will not quit the stage of world history without a struggle.

The capitalist system is enfeebled, but capitalism has succeeded in emerging from the trough of the economic crisis. Yet, three years after the trough of the crisis was passed, production in the majority of countries has not attained the pre-war level—despite the great influence which preparations for war have exercised on the growth of production.

This economic situation, which is marked by the continuation of the depression of a special kind and is condemning tens of millions of unemployed in all countries to starvation and extinction, and hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals, urban petty bourgeois and colonial slaves to a pauper existence, has still further widened the chasm between the handful of monopolists of finance capital and the major mass of the people, who have been plunged into the abyss of poverty and despair.

Faith in capitalism, in the ability of the leaders of capitalist economy and the state to find a way out of the crisis towards a new prosperity, has been undermined among vast masses of the people. The prestige of imperialism has been enfeebled in the colonies, all the economic, social and political foundations of bourgeois society have been shaken, so that the ruling classes themselves are compelled to resort to anti-capitalist demagogy.

This is the kind of situation which renders the contrast between capitalism and socialism most striking in the eyes of the masses, the kind of situation in which the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors will become rapidly accentuated, the indignation of the masses at the capitalist regime will continue to grow, the revolutionary crisis to mature and the idea of storming the citadel of capitalism to mature in the minds of ever large masses of proletarians.

It may, however, happen that in certain countries capitalist economy, having removed the conditions inimical to its development, may still experience a temporary improvement and alleviate the condition of the bourgeoisie in these countries. But in view of the accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism, such an improvement of capitalist economy cannot lead to stabilization and to the ebb of the tide of revolution. On the contrary, it will intensify the struggle between the various groups of the bourgeoisie, who will hasten to profit by the improved situation; it will intensify the struggle in the world arena, because the markets are shut off by tariff barriers and because, finally, an improvement in any given country will be achieved at the expense of other countries, which will thus be forced into the background.

Our task is to organize the toiling masses who are rising against capitalism into a solid revolutionary army of the proletariat and to lead them to storm capitalism.

Our World Congress must strengthen the determination of all proletarians to heal the split in the ranks of the working class, to establish a broad united front which will be capable of mobilizing the widest sections of the people in the fight against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war.

Our World Congress must show the proletariat the way to a single revolutionary party based on the unshakable foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

We must all of us leave this Congress clearly realizing that the fate of the proletariat and of all mankind depends on us and on our work.

We, the Communists, are showing the masses the only road out of the crisis, the road which has been taken by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the road of Soviet government.

Our task is not only to point out this road to the masses, but to take this road together with the masses and at the head of the masses.

We are launching into the fight for freedom, for peace, for bread, for Soviet government and for socialism.

Our chief slogan is—Fight for Soviet government!

Our banner is the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our leader is Stalin.

Under this banner, we must penetrate to the masses, we must establish closer ties with the masses, we must broaden the united front of the proletariat.

Communists, weld the revolutionary class into a vast, single, organized political army. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism *

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

COMRADES, as early as its Sixth Congress, the Communist International warned the world proletariat that a new fascist offensive was impending, and called for a struggle against it. The Congress pointed out that "in a more or less developed form, fascist tendencies and the germs of a fascist movement are to be found almost everywhere."

With the outbreak of the present most profound economic crisis, the sharp accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism and the revolutionization of the toiling masses, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive. The ruling bourgeoisie is more and more seeking salvation in fascism, with the object of instituting exceptionally predatory measures against the toilers, preparing for an imperialist war of plunder, attacking the Soviet Union, enslaving and partitioning China, and by all these means preventing revolution.

Imperialist circles are endeavoring to place the *whole* burden of the crisis on the backs of the toilers. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are striving to *forestall* the growth of the forces of revolution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union—the bulwark of the world proletariat. *That is why they need fascism.*

In a number of countries, Germany in particular, these imperialist circles have succeeded, *before* the masses have decisively turned towards revolution, in inflicting defeat on the proletariat and establishing a fascist dictatorship.

But what is characteristic of the victory of fascism is the fact that this victory, on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat, disorganized and paralyzed by the disruptive Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and, on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.

* Abridged stenogram of Report, and reply to discussion, made to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The victory of fascism in Germany, Comrade Stalin said at the venteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

> ". . . must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war." *

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF FASCISM

Comrades, as was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of e Executive Committee of the Communist International, fascism in wer *is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most auvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*

The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German type* of scism. It has the effrontery to call itself National-Socialism, though wing nothing in common with socialism. Hitler fascism is not only rgeois nationalism, it is bestial chauvinism. It is a government system political banditry, a system of provocation and torture practised on the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is medieval barbarity and stiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations and ntries.

German fascism is acting as *the spearhead of international counter-olution, as the chief incendiary of imperialist war, as the initiator a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the toilers the whole world.*

Fascism is not a form of state power "standing above both classes he proletariat and the bourgeoisie", as Otto Bauer, for instance, has serted. It is not "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has seized the chinery of the State", as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. , fascism is not super-class government, nor government of the petty rgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist geance against the working class and the revolutionary section of peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is chauvin-n in its crudest form, fomenting the bestial hatred of other nations.

This, the true character of fascism, must be particularly stressed; cause in a number of countries fascism, under cover of social demagogy, s managed to gain the following of the petty bourgeois masses who ve been driven out of their course by the crisis, and even of certain tions of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would

* *Socialism Victorious*, pp. 11-12, International Publishers, New York.

never have supported fascism if they had understood its real class character and its true nature.

[Comrade Dimitroff went on to say that the development of fascism and the fascist dictatorship take on *various forms* in various countries according to the historic, social and economic conditions, the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country, and the possibility is not excluded that, when the situation becomes *particularly* acute, fascism will make attempts to extend its basis, and, without altering its class nature, to *combine* open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism.

The accession of fascism to power, Comrade Dimitroff emphasized, is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another but the *substitution* for one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie of another form—open terrorist dictatorship. "It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the broadest strata of the toilers of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself." Comrade Dimitroff pointed out that "before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and institute a number of reactionary measures, which directly facilitate the accession of fascism to power. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages *is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.*"

Speaking of the sources of the influence of fascism among the masses, Comrade Dimitroff pointed out that fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*, adapts its demagogy to the national peculiarities of each country and even to the peculiarities of various social strata in one and the same country. In practice, victorious fascism brings to the workers a still lower and more poverty-stricken standard of living, forced slave labor, brings to the toiling youth mass dismissals from the enterprises, labor service camps and continuous military drilling for wars of plunder, brings to the office workers, petty officials and intellectuals an even greater degree of hopelessness and uncertainty as to the morrow, brings to the toiling peasants unprecedented servitude to the trusts and the fascist state apparatus, and promotes the exploitation of the basic masses of the peasants by the big agrarians, banks and the usurers to the very utmost limit.]

IS THE VICTORY OF FASCISM INEVITABLE?

Why was it that fascism could triumph, and how?

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and the toilers. Fascism is the enemy of nine-tenths of the German people, nine-tenths of the Austrian people, nine-tenths of the other peoples in fascist countries. How, in what way, could this vicious enemy triumph?

Fascism was able to come to power *primarily* because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, *proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed*, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. And the Communist Parties, on the other hand, were *not strong enough* to be able, apart from and in the teeth of the Social-Democrats, to rouse the masses and to lead them in a decisive struggle against fascism.

And, indeed, let the millions of Social-Democratic workers, who together with their Communist brothers are now experiencing the horrors of fascist barbarism, seriously reflect on this. If in 1918, when revolution broke out in Germany and Austria, the Austrian and German proletariat had not followed the Social-Democratic leadership of Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler and Karl Renner in Austria and Ebert and Scheidemann in Germany, but had followed the road of the Russian Bolsheviks, the road of Lenin and Stalin, there would now be no fascism in Austria or Germany, in Italy or Hungary, in Poland or in the Balkans. Not the bourgeoisie but the working class would long ago have been the master of the situation in Europe. (*Applause.*)

Take, for example, the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. The revolution of 1918 raised it to a tremendous height. It held the power in its hands, it held strong positions in the army and in the state apparatus. Relying on these positions, it could have nipped fascism in the bud. But it surrendered one position of the working class after another without resistance. It permitted the bourgeoisie to strengthen its power, annul the constitution, purge the state apparatus, army and police force of Social-Democratic functionaries and take the arsenals away from the workers. It allowed the fascist bandits to murder Social-Democratic workers with impunity and accepted the terms of the Hüttenberg pact, which gave the fascist elements entry to the factories. At the same time the Social-Democratic leaders fooled the workers with the Linz program, in which the alternative was provided for the possibility of using armed force against the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, assuring them that in the event of the ruling classes using force against the working class, the party would reply by a call for a general strike and for armed struggle. As though the whole policy of preparation for a fascist attack on the working class were not one chain of acts of violence against the working class masked by constitutional forms. Even on the eve and in the course of the February battles the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders left the heroically fighting Schutzbund isolated from the broad masses and doomed the Austrian proletariat to defeat.

Was the victory of fascism inevitable in *Germany?* No, the German working class could have prevented it.

But in order to do so, it should have compelled the establishment of a united anti-fascist proletarian front, forced the Social-Democratic leaders to put a stop to their campaign against the Communists and to accept the repeated proposals of the Communist Party for united action against fascism.

When fascism was on the offensive and the bourgeois-democratic

liberties were being progressively abolished by the bourgeoisie, it should not have contented itself with the verbal resolutions of the Social-Democrats, but should have replied by a genuine mass struggle, which would have made the fulfillment of the fascist plans of the German bourgeoisie more difficult.

It should not have allowed the prohibition of the League of Red Front Fighters by the government of Braun and Severing, and should have established fighting contact between the League and the Reichsbanner,* with its nearly one million members, and have compelled Braun and Severing to arm both these organizations in order to resist and smash the fascist bands.

It should have compelled the Social-Democratic leaders who headed the Prussian government to adopt measures of defense against fascism, arrest the fascist leaders, close down their press, confiscate their material resources and the resources of the capitalists who were financing the fascist movement, dissolve the fascist organization, deprive them of their weapons, and so forth.

Furthermore, it should have secured the re-establishment and extension of all forms of social resistance and the introduction of a moratorium and crisis benefits for the peasants—who were being ruined under the influence of crises—by taxing the banks and the trusts, in this way securing for itself the support of the toiling peasantry. It was the fault of the Social-Democrats of Germany that this was not done, and that is why fascism *was able* to triumph.

Was it inevitable that the bourgeoisie and the nobility should have triumphed in *Spain*, a country where the forces of proletarian revolt are so advantageously combined with a peasant war?

The Spanish Socialists were in the government from the first days of the revolution. Did they establish fighting contact between the working class organizations of every political opinion, including the Communists and the Anarchists, and did they weld the working class into a united trade union organization? Did they demand the confiscation of all the lands of the landlords, the church and the monasteries in favor of the peasants in order to win over the latter to the side of the revolution? Did they attempt to fight for national self-determination for the Catalonians and the Basques, and for the liberation of Morocco? Did they purge the army of monarchist and fascist elements and prepare it for passing over to the side of the workers and peasants? Did they dissolve the Civil Guard, so detested by the people, the executioner of every movement of the people? Did they strike at the fascist party of Gil Robles and at the might of the Catholic church? No, they did none of these things. They rejected the frequent proposals of the Communists for united action against the offensive of the bourgeois-landlord reaction and fascism; they passed election laws which enabled the reactionaries to gain a majority in the Cortes (parliament), laws which penalized popular movements, laws under which the heroic miners of

* *Reichsbanner*—"The Flag of the Realm", a Social-Democratic semi-military mass organization.

turias are now being tried. They had peasants who were fighting for d shot by the Civil Guard, and so on.

This is the way in which the Social-Democrats, by disorganizing and itting the ranks of the working class, cleared the path to power for cism in Germany, in Austria, in Spain.

Comrades, fascism *also* triumphed for the reason that the proletariat nd itself isolated from its natural allies. Fascism triumphed because was able to win over *large masses of the peasantry*, owing to the fact t the Social-Democrats, in the name of the working class, pursued at was in fact an anti-peasant policy. The peasant saw in power a mber of Social-Democratic governments, which in his eyes were an bodiment of the power of the working class, but not one of them put end to peasant want, none of them gave land to the peasantry. In many, the Social-Democrats did not touch the landlords; they com- ed the strikes of agricultural workers, with the result that long be- e Hitler came to power the agricultural workers of Germany were ndoning the reformist trade unions and in the majority of cases were ng over to the Stahlhelm and to the National-Socialists.

Fascism also triumphed for the reason that it was able to penetrate ranks of the *youth*, whereas the Social-Democrats diverted the king class youth from the class struggle, while the revolutionary letariat did not develop the necessary educational work among the th and did not devote sufficient attention to the struggle for its cific interests and demands. Fascism grasped the very acute need he youth for militant activity, and enticed a considerable section of the th into its fighting detachments. The new generation of young men women have not experienced the horrors of war. They have felt the weight of the economic crisis, unemployment, and the disintegration bourgeois democracy. But, seeing no prospects for the future, large mbers of young people have proved to be particularly receptive to cist demagogy, which depicted for them an alluring future should cism succeed.

In this connection, we cannot avoid referring also to a number of *takes committed by the Communist Parties*, mistakes that hampered struggle against fascism.

In our ranks there were people who intolerably underrated the cist danger, a tendency which has not everywhere been overcome to day. Of this nature was the opinion formerly to be met within Parties to the effect that "Germany is not Italy", meaning that cism may have succeeded in Italy, but that its success in Germany out of the question, because the latter was an industrially and urally highly developed country, with 40 years of traditions of the king class movement, in which fascism was impossible. Or the kind pinion which is to be met with nowadays, to the effect that in coun- s of "classical" bourgeois democracy the soil for fascism does not t. Such opinions may serve and have served to weaken vigilance with ard to the fascist danger, and to render the mobilization of the pro- riat in the struggle against fascism more difficult.

One might also cite a number of instances in which Communists were

caught unawares by the fascist *coup*. Remember Bulgaria, where the leadership of our Party took up a "neutral", but in fact opportunist, position with regard to the *coup d'etat* of June 9, 1923; Poland, where, in May, 1926, the leadership of the Communist Party, making a wrong estimate of the motive forces of the Polish revolution, did not realize the fascist nature of Pilsudski's *coup*, and trailed in the rear of events; Finland, where our Party based itself on a false conception of slow and gradual fascization and overlooked the fascist *coup* which was being prepared by the leading group of the bourgeoisie and which caught the Party and the working class unawares.

When National-Socialism had already become a menacing mass movement in Germany, certain comrades, like Heinz Neumann, who regarded the Bruening government as already a government of fascist dictatorship, boastfully declared: "If Hitler's 'Third Empire' ever comes about, it will only be one and a half meters underground, and above it will be the victorious power of the workers."

Our comrades in Germany for a long time failed to reckon with the wounded national sentiments and indignation of the masses at the Versailles Treaty; they treated as of little account the vacillations of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; they were late in drawing up their program of social and national emancipation, and when they did put it forward they were unable to adapt it to the concrete demands and the level of the masses. They were even unable to popularize it widely among the masses.

In a number of countries the necessary development of a mass fight against fascism was replaced by sterile hair splitting as to the nature of fascism "in general" and by a *narrow sectarian attitude* in presenting and solving the actual political problems of the Party.

Comrades, it is not simply because we want to dig up the past that we speak of the causes of the victory of fascism, that we point to the historical responsibility of the Social-Democrats for the defeat of the working class, and that we also point out our own mistakes in the fight against fascism. We are not historians divorced from living reality; we, active fighters of the working class, are obliged to answer the question that is tormenting millions of workers: *Can the victory of fascism be prevented, and how?* And we reply to these millions of workers: Yes, comrades, the road in the way of fascism can be blocked. It is quite possible. It depends on ourselves—on the workers, the peasants and all the toilers!

Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends *in the first place* on the militant activity displayed by the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combating the offensive of capitalism and fascism. Having established its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section and win over another section.

Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the toilers against fascism. A party

nich systematically calls on the workers to retreat in the face of scism and permits the fascist bourgeoisie to strengthen its positions ll inevitably lead the workers to defeat.

Third, it depends on whether a correct policy is pursued by the rking class towards the peasantry and the petty bourgeois masses of e towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we ould like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they ll overcome their doubts and vacillations. It is only provided we opt a patient attitude towards their inevitable vacillations, it is only th the political help of the proletariat, that they will be able to rise a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on whether the revolutionary proletariat exer- es vigilance and takes action at the proper time. It must not allow scism to catch it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to scism, it must inflict decisive blows on the latter before it can gather forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position, it must pel fascism wherever and whenever it manifests itself, it must not ow fascism to gain new positions—all of which the French proletariat doing so successfully. (*Applause.*)

These are the main conditions for preventing the growth of fascism d its accession to power.

[Comrade Dimitroff went on to say that fascism is a ferocious but stable power.

What are the main causes of the instability of the fascist dicta- ship?

"Fascism endeavors to establish its political monopoly by violently stroying other political parties." But "the party of the fascists cannot eserve its monopoly for long because it cannot set itself the aim of olishing classes and class contradictions."

"Another reason for the instability of the fascist dictatorship is at the contrast between the anti-capitalist demagogy of fascism and policy of enriching the monopolist bourgeoisie in the most piratical shion makes it easier to expose the class nature of fascism and tends shake and narrow its mass basis."

"By conducting a policy of economic nationalism (autarchy) and by zing the greater portion of the national income for the purpose of eparing for war, fascism undermines the whole economic life of the untry and accentuates the economic war between the capitalist states. lends the conflicts that arise among the bourgeoisie the character of arp and at times bloody collisions, which undermines the stability of e fascist state power in the eyes of the people."]

The powerful urge towards the united front in all the capitalist untries shows that the lessons of defeat have not been in vain. The rking class is beginning to act in a *new way*. The initiative shown the Communist Party in the organization of the united front and e supreme self-sacrifice displayed by the Communists, by the revolu- nary workers in the struggle against fascism, have resulted in an precedented increase in the prestige of the Communist International, the same time, within the Second International, a profound crisis

has been developing, which has manifested itself with particular clarity and has become particularly accentuated since the bankruptcy of German Social-Democracy.

The Social-Democratic workers are able to convince themselves ever more forcibly that fascist Germany, with all its horrors and barbarities, is in the final analysis *the result of the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.* These masses are coming ever more clearly to realize that the path along which the German Social-Democratic leaders led the proletariat must not against be traversed. Never has there been such ideological dissension in the camp of the Second International as at the present time. A process of differentiation is taking place in all the Social-Democratic Parties. Within their ranks *two principal* camps are forming: side by side with the existing camp of reactionary elements, who are trying in every way to preserve the *bloc* between the Social-Democrats and the bourgeoisie, and who furiously reject a united front with the Communists, *there is beginning to form a camp of revolutionary elements who entertain doubts as to the correctness of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, who are in favor of the creation of a united front with the Communists and who are increasingly coming to adopt the position of the revolutionary class struggle.*

Thus fascism, which appeared as the result of the decline of the capitalist system, in the long run acts as a factor of *its further disintegration.* Thus fascism, which has undertaken to bury Marxism, the revolutionary movement of the working class, is, as a result of the dialectics of life and the class struggle, itself leading to the further *development of those forces* which are bound to serve as its grave-diggers, the grave-diggers of capitalism. (*Applause.*)

II. UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

Comrades, millions of workers and toilers of the capitalist countries ask the question: How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after it has been victorious? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to commence, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defense but also of successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy.*

[Comrade Dimitroff then spoke of the importance of the united front of the working class for enhancing the political importance of the proletariat and of its enormous influence over all other strata of the people—the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, and also on the oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies, and he emphasized that:

"The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of what party or organization they belong to is neces-

ary *even before the majority of the working class is united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution.*"

"The Communist International", said Comrade Dimitroff, "*attaches no conditions to unity of action except one, and that is an elementary condition acceptable for all workers, viz., that the unity of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy.*"

Comrade Dimitroff then examined the chief arguments brought forward by opponents of the united front, and stated on conclusion:

"No. These reservations will not hold water! The international proletariat has suffered the consequences of the split in the working class, and is becoming more and more convinced that *the united front, that unity of action by the proletariat on a national and international scale are both necessary and perfectly possible.*" (*Applause.*)]

CONTENT AND FORMS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the *starting point and main content* of the united front in all capitalist countries.

We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, but must also find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise out of the vital needs of the masses, and are commensurate with their fighting capacity at the given stage of development.

We must point out to the masses what they must do *today* to defend themselves against capitalist spoliation and fascist barbarity.

We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different trends for the defense of the vital interests of the toiling masses. This means:

First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of consequences of the crisis on to the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists, landlords—in a word, to the shoulders of the rich.

Second, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defense of the gains and the rights of the toilers, against the liquidation of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war, a struggle that will impede the preparations for such a war.

We must indefatigably prepare the working class for a *rapid change in forms and methods of struggle* when there is a change in the situation. As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition *from the defensive to the offensive against capital,* steering towards the *organization of a mass political strike.* It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade unions of the respective countries.

Communists, of course, cannot and must not for a moment abandon

their own *independent work* of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses. However, for the purpose of ensuring that the workers find the road to unity of action, it is necessary to strive at the same time both for short-term and for long-term agreements providing for *joint action with Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the toilers* against the class enemies of the proletariat. The chief stress in all this must be laid on developing *mass action* locally, *to be carried out by the local organizations* through local agreements.

While loyally carrying out the conditions of all agreements made with them, we shall mercilessly expose all sabotage of joint action on the part of persons and organizations participating in the united front. To any attempt to wreck the agreements—and such attempts may possibly be made—we shall reply by appealing to the masses while continuing untiringly to struggle for the restoration of the broken unity of action.

It goes without saying that the concrete realization of the united front will take *various* forms in various countries, depending upon the condition and character of the workers' organizations and their political level, upon the concrete situation in the particular country, upon the changes in progress in the international labor movement, etc.

These forms may include for instance: coordinated joint action of the workers to be agreed upon *from case to case* on definite occasions, on individual demands or on the basis of a common platform; coordinated actions at *individual enterprises* or by *whole industries;* coordinated action on a *local, regional, national* or *international* scale; coordinated actions for the organization of the *economic* struggle of the workers, carrying out of mass *political* actions; for the organization of joint *self-defense* against fascist attacks; coordinated action in the rendering of *aid to political prisoners and their families,* in the field of struggle against *social reaction;* joint actions in the defense of the *interests of the youth* and *women,* in the field of the *cooperative movement, cultural activity, sports, etc.*

It would be insufficient to content ourselves with the conclusion of a pact providing for joint action and the formation of contact committees consisting of the parties and organizations participating in the united front, like those we have in France, for instance. That is only the first step. The pact is an auxiliary means of realizing joint action, but by itself it does not constitute a united front. A contact commission between the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties is necessary to facilitate the carrying out of joint action, but by itself it is far from adequate for a real development of the united front, for drawing the broadest masses into the struggle against fascism.

The Communists and all revolutionary workers must strive for the formation of elective (and in the countries of fascist dictatorship—selected from the most authoritative participants in the united front movement) *non-partisan class bodies of the united front* at the *factories,* among the *unemployed,* in the *working class districts,* among the *small townsmen* and in the *villages.* Only such bodies will be able to embrace in the united front movement the vast masses of unorganized toilers also,

ill be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the uggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and reaction, d on this basis to create the necessary *broad active rank and file of e united front*, the training of hundreds and thousands of non-Party lsheviks in the capitalist countries.

Joint action of the *organized* workers is the beginning, the founda- n. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the unorganized masses nstitute the vast majority of workers. Thus, in *France* the number organized workers—Communists, Socialists, trade union members of rious trends—is altogether *about one million*, while the total number workers is *eleven million*. In *Great Britain* there are approximately e *million* members of trade unions and parties of various trends. At e same time the total number of workers is *fourteen million*. In the ited States of *America* about *five million* workers are organized, ile altogether there are *thirty-eight million* workers in that country. out the same ratio holds good for a number of other countries. In rmal" times this mass in the main does not participate in political e. But now this gigantic mass is getting into motion more and more, being brought into political life, comes out in the political arena.

The creation of non-partisan class bodies is the *best form* for carry- out, extending and strengthening the united front among the rank and of the broadest masses. These bodies will likewise be the best bul- rk against every attempt of the opponents of the united front to rupt the established unity of action of the working class.

THE ANTI-FASCIST PEOPLE'S FRONT

In the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against cism, the formation of a *broad people's anti-fascist front on the basis the proletarian united front* is a particularly important task. The cess of the entire struggle of the proletariat is closely connected h the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat on one hand and the toiling peasantry and the basic mass of the urban ty bourgeoisie constituting a majority in the population of even ustrially developed countries, on the other.

In its agitation, fascism, desirous of winning these masses to its own e, tries to set the toiling masses of the cities and the countryside inst the revolutionary proletariat, intimidating the petty bourgeoisie h the bugaboo of the "Red danger". We must *turn the spearpoint the opposite direction* and show the toiling peasants, artisans and ing intellectuals whence the real danger threatens. We must *show* m *concretely* who piles the burden of taxes and imposts on to the sant, squeezes usurious interests out of him, and who, while owning best lands and enjoying every form of wealth, drives the peasant and family from his plot of land and dooms him to unemployment and erty. We must explain concretely, explain patiently and persistently, o ruins the artisans, the handicraftsmen, with taxes, imposts, high ts and competition impossible for them to withstand, who throws into street and deprives of employment the broad masses of the toiling elligentsia.

But this is *not enough.*

The fundamental, the most decisive point in establishing the anti-fascist people's front is *the resolute action of the revolutionary proletariat* in defense of the demands of these strata, particularly of the toiling peasantry, demands in line with the basic interests of the proletariat, combining in the process of struggle the demands of the working class with these demands.

In forming the anti-fascist people's front, a correct approach to those organizations and parties to which a considerable number of the toiling peasantry and the mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie belong is of great importance.

In the capitalist countries the majority of these parties and organizations, political as well as economic, are still under the influence of the bourgeoisie and follow it. The social composition of these parties and organizations is heterogeneous. They include big kulaks (rich peasants) side by side with landless peasants, big business men alongside of petty shopkeepers, but control is in the hands of the former, the agents of big capital. This makes it our duty to *approach* these organizations in *different ways*, taking into consideration that not infrequently the bulk of the membership does not know anything about the real political character of its leadership. Under certain conditions, we can and must bend our efforts to the task of drawing these parties and organizations or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist people's front, despite their bourgeois leadership. Such, for instance, is today the situation in France with the Radical Party, in the United States with various farmers' organizations, in Poland with the "Stronnictwo Ludowe", in Yugoslavia with the Croatian Peasants' Party, in Bulgaria with the Agrarian League, in Greece with the Agrarians, etc. But irrespective of whether there is any chance of attracting these parties and organizations to the side of the people's front, our tactics must *under all circumstances* be directed towards drawing the small peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, etc., among their members into the anti-fascist people's front.

You see consequently that in this field we must put an end all along the line to what frequently occurs in our practical work—the ignoring of or contemptuous attitude towards the various organizations and parties of the peasants, artisans and urban petty bourgeois masses.

[Comrade Dimitroff then dealt with the cardinal questions of the united front in individual countries. In the conditions of the U.S.A., a suitable form for rallying together the broad discontented masses of toilers might be a "workers' and farmers' party," formed at the initiative of the American comrades. "*Such a party would be a specific form of the mass people's front in America*, that should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither* Socialist *nor* Communist. But it *will have to be* an anti-fascist party and *not* an anti-Communist party." In Great Britain, the growing hatred of the working class towards the "National Government" is uniting ever wider masses under the slogan of the formation of a *new labor government.* Although the Communist

arty of Great Britain does not expect socialist measures to be passed y this government, nevertheless, as the Thirteenth Congress of the ommunist Party of Great Britain stated, they are prepared to support struggle for the formation of a Labor Government and, together with ie labor organizations, to discuss a common program of demands and ike common action at the forthcoming Parliamentary elections against ie "National Government" and also against Lloyd George.

The working class of France is setting an example to the whole world roletariat as to how to fight against fascism. "The French Communist arty", said Dimitroff, "is setting an example to all the Sections of the omintern as to how the tactics of the united front should be conducted; ie Socialist workers of France are setting an example as to what the ocial-Democratic workers of other capitalist countries should now be oing in the fight against fascism." (*Applause.*)

The demonstration of July 14 constituted the beginning of a wide eople's front against fascism in France.

Comrade Dimitroff further pointed out that the victory obtained in rance does not yet decide the issue of the anti-fascist struggle. "The scist movement is continuing to develop absolutely freely with the tive support of monopoly capital, the State apparatus of the bour- oisie, the general staff of the French army and the reactionary leaders the Catholic church."

Therefore, "the working class and all anti-fascists in France have no ounds for resting content with the results already achieved". Comrade imitroff then set forth the concrete tasks confronting the working ass in France.]

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE FASCIST MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Comrades, the fight for the establishment of a united front in untries where the fascists are in power is perhaps the most important oblem that confronts us. In such countries, of course, the fight is rried on under far more difficult conditions than is the case in countries hich have legal labor movements. Nevertheless, all the conditions exist fascist countries for the development of a real anti-fascist people's ont in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, since the Social- emocratic, Catholic and other workers, in Germany, for instance, e in a position to realize more directly the necessity for a joint struggle ith the Communists against the fascist dictatorship. Wide strata the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, having already tasted the tter fruits of fascist rule, are growing increasingly discontented and sillusioned, which fact makes it easier to enlist them in the anti-fascist ople's front.

But the principal task in fascist countries, particularly in Germany id Italy, where fascism has managed to gain a mass basis and has rced the workers and other toilers into its organizations, consists in skilful combination of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship om without and its undermining from within, inside the fascist mass ganizations and bodies. Special methods and means of approach suited

to the concrete conditions prevailing in these countries must be learned, mastered and applied, so as to facilitate the rapid disintegration of the mass basis of fascism and to prepare the way for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We must learn, master and apply this, and not only shout, "Down with Hitler!" and "Down with Mussolini!" Yes, learn, master and apply.

This is a difficult and complex task. It is all the more difficult because our experience in successfully combating the fascist dictatorship is extremely limited. Our Italian comrades, for instance, have already been fighting under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship for about thirteen years. Nevertheless, they have not succeeded in developing a real mass struggle against fascism, and therefore they have unfortunately been little able in this respect to help the Communist Parties in other fascist countries by their positive experience.

The German and Italian Communists, and the Communists in other fascist countries, as well as the Communist youth, have displayed prodigies of valor; they have made and are daily making tremendous sacrifices. We all bow our heads in honor of such heroism and sacrifices. But heroism alone is not enough. (*Applause.*) Heroism must be combined with day-to-day work among the masses, with such concrete struggle against fascism as will achieve the most tangible results in this sphere. In our struggle against fascist dictatorship it is particularly dangerous to confuse the wish with the fact. We must base ourselves on the facts, on the actual concrete situation.

And what is now the actual situation, in Germany, for instance?

The masses are becoming increasingly discontented and disillusioned with the policy of the fascist dictatorship, and this even assumes the form of partial strikes and other acts. In spite of all its efforts, fascism has failed to win over politically the basic masses of the workers; it is even losing its former supporters, and will lose them more and more in the future. Nevertheless, we must realize that the workers who are convinced of the *possibility* of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, and who are prepared, already today, to fight for it actively are still in the minority—they consist of us, the Communists, and the revolutionary section of the Social-Democratic workers. But the majority of the toilers have not yet become aware of the real, concrete possibilities and methods of overthrowing this dictatorship and are maintaining a waiting position. This we must bear in mind when we outline our tasks in the struggle against fascism in Germany, and when we seek, study and apply special methods of bringing about the undermining and overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

In order to be able to strike a telling blow at the fascist dictatorship, we must first find out what is its most vulnerable point. What is the Achilles' heel of the fascist dictatorship? Its social basis. The latter is extremely heterogeneous. It is made up of various classes and various strata of society. Fascism has proclaimed itself the sole representative of all classes and strata of the population: the manufacturer and the worker, the millionaire and the unemployed, the *Junker* and the small peasant, the big capitalist and the artisan. It pretends to defend the in-

rests of *all* these strata, the interests of the nation. But since it is a ctatorship of the big bourgeoisie, fascism must inevitably come into nflict with its mass social basis, all the more since, under the fascist ctatorship, the class contradictions between the pack of financial mag- ates and the overwhelming majority of the people are brought out in reatest relief.

We can lead the masses to a decisive struggle for the overthrow of e fascist dictatorship only by getting the workers who have been rced into the fascist organizations, or have joined them through ig- orance, to take part in *the most elementary movements* for the defense their economic, political and cultural interests. It is for this reason at the Communists must work in these organizations, as the best cham- ons of the day-to-day interests of the mass of members, and must bear mind that as the workers belonging to these organizations begin more id more frequently to demand their rights and defend their interests, ey inevitably come into conflict with the fascist dictatorship.

In defending the urgent and, at first, the most elementary interests the toiling masses of town and country, it is comparatively easier to id a common language not only with the conscious anti-fascists, but so with those toilers who are still supporters of fascism, but are dis- usioned and dissatisfied with its policy, and are grumbling and seeking occasion for expressing their discontent. We must in general realize at all our tactics in countries where a fascist dictatorship prevails ust be of such a character as not to repulse the rank and file supporters fascism, not to throw them once more into the arms of fascism, but deepen the chasm between the fascist leaders and the mass of dis- usioned rank and file followers of fascism drawn from the toiling strata.

We need not be dismayed, comrades, if the people mobilized around ese day-to-day interests consider themselves either indifferent to olitics or even followers of fascism. The important thing for us is to aw them into the movement which, although it may not at first proceed enly under the slogans of the struggle against fascism, is already jectively an anti-fascist movement counterposing these masses against e fascist dictatorship.

Experience teaches us that the view that it is *generally impossible*, countries where a fascist dictatorship prevails, to come out legally semi-legally, is harmful and incorrect. To insist on this point of view eans to fall into passivity, and to renounce real mass work in general together. True, under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship, to find rms and methods of legal or semi-legal action is a difficult and complex oblem. But, as in many other questions, the path is indicated by life id by the initiative of the masses themselves, which have already pro- ded us with a number of examples that must be generalized and applied an organized and effective manner. We must very resolutely put an end the tendency to underestimate work in the fascist mass organizations. Italy, in Germany and in a number of other fascist countries, our mrades concealed their passivity, and frequently even their direct fusal to work in the fascist mass organizations, by putting work in the ctories in contradistinction to work in the fascist mass organizations.

In reality, however, it was just this mechanical distinction which led to work being conducted very feebly, and sometimes not at all, both in the fascist mass organizations and in the factories.

Yet it is particularly important that Communists in the fascist countries should be wherever the masses are to be found. Fascism has deprived the workers of their own legal organizations. It has forced the fascist organizations upon them, and it is *there that the masses are* by compulsion, or to some extent voluntarily. These mass fascist organizations can and must be made our legal or semi-legal field of action, where we can meet the masses. They can and must be made our legal or semi-legal starting point for the defense of the day-to-day interests of the masses. In order to utilize these possibilities, Communists must strive to win elective posts in the fascist mass organizations, with the object of establishing contact with the masses, and must rid themselves once and for all of the prejudice that this kind of activity is unseemly and unworthy of a revolutionary worker.

In Germany, for instance, there exists a system known as shop delegates. But where is it stated that we must leave the fascists a monopoly in these organizations? Cannot we endeavor to unite the Communist, Social-Democratic, Catholic and other anti-fascist workers in the factories so that when the list of shop delegates is voted upon the known agents of the employers may be struck off and other candidates, enjoying the confidence of the workers, inserted in their stead? Practice has already shown that this is possible.

And does not practice also go to show that it is possible, jointly with the Social-Democratic and other discontented workers, to demand that the shop delegates really defend the interests of the workers?

Take the "Labor Front" in Germany, or the fascist trade unions in Italy. Is it not possible to demand that the functionaries of the "Labor Front" be elected, and not appointed; to insist that the leading bodies of the local groups report to the meetings of the members of the organizations: to address these demands, following a decision by the group, to the employer, to the "guardian of labor", to the higher bodies of the "Labor Front"? This is possible, provided the revolutionary workers really work within the "Labor Front" and try to obtain posts in it.

Similar methods of work are possible and essential in other mass fascist organizations also—in the Hitler Youth Leagues, in the sports organizations, in the *Kraft durch Freude* organizations, in the *Doppo Lavoro* in Italy, in the cooperatives, and so forth.

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of the living wall of his cutthroats. (*Applause.*)

He who fails to understand the necessity of applying such tactics in

case of fascism, he who regards such an approach as "humiliating", y be a most excellent comrade, but, if you will allow me to say so, he a windbag and not a revolutionary, he will be unable to lead the sses to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. (*Applause.*)

Growing up *inside and outside* the fascist organizations in Germany, ly and the other countries in which fascism possesses a mass basis, mass movement for a united front, starting with the advocacy of the st elementary requirements, changing its forms and watchwords of struggle as that struggle extends and grows, will be the *battering* n that will shatter the now seemingly (too many) impregnable fort- s of the fascist dictatorship.

THE UNITED FRONT IN THE COUNTRIES WHERE THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ARE IN OFFICE

The struggle for the establishment of the united front raises also ther very important problem, the problem of the united front in ntries where Social-Democratic governments, or coalition governments which Socialists participate, are in power, as, for instance, in Den- rk, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

Our attitude of absolute opposition to Social-Democratic govern- nts, which are governments of compromise with the bourgeoisie, is l known. But this notwithstanding, we do not regard the existence of *ocial-Democratic government* or a coalition government formed by a ial-Democratic party with bourgeois parties as an *insurmountable* tacle for the establishment of a united front with the Social-Democrats definite issues. We believe that in such a case also a united front for defense of the vital interests of the toiling people and in the struggle inst fascism is quite *possible* and *necessary.* It stands to reason that ountries where representatives of Social-Democratic parties take part he government, the Social-Democratic leadership offers the greatest *stance* to the proletarian united front. This is quite comprehensible. er all, they want to show the bourgeoisie that it is they who can o the discontented working masses under control and prevent them n falling under the influence of Communism better and more skill- y than anyone else. The fact, however, that Social-Democratic min- rs are opposed to the proletarian united front can by no means justify ituation in which *the Communists do nothing to establish a united nt of the proletariat.*

[Comrade Dimitroff then set the tasks connected with the organ- ion of the united front in the Scandinavian countries, in Czechoslo- ia and in Belgium. "Our comrades in the Scandinavian countries", l Comrade Dimitroff, "often follow the line of least resistance, *con- ng themselves to propaganda exposing the Social-Democratic govern- nts.* In Denmark, for example, the Social-Democratic leaders have n in the government for the last ten years and for ten years, day in day out, the Communists have been reiterating that it is a bour- is, a capitalist government, "but could not the Danish Communists upon the trade unions and the Social-Democratic organizations to

discuss some concrete *urgent practical* question (the "crisis agreement" which gave help to the big capitalists and landowners but not to the workers and the poor peasants, the decree taking away the right to strike, the plan for anti-democratic electoral reform, etc.) and organize a general united front with the aim of carrying through the demands of the workers.

In Sweden, also, the Communists worked "in principle for the united front, for the united front *in general*, but they failed to understand in what circumstances, on what questions, in defense of what demands a proletarian united front could be successfully established, where and how to 'hook on'."

On the eve of the formation of the Social-Democratic government, the Social-Democratic Party advanced a program of demands containing some which could have been included in the platform of the proletarian united front (for example: "Against customs duties", "Against militarization", "Make an end to the policy of delay on the question of *unemployment insurance*", "Grant adequate old age pensions", "Prohibit organizations like the 'Munch' corps" (a fascist organization), "Down with the *class legislation against the unions* demanded by the bourgeois parties'.

But the Swedish Communists did not succeed in seizing upon these demands of the platform for which over a million toilers had voted.

"In Czechoslovakia", said Comrade Dimitroff, "certain demands advanced by the Czech and the German Social-Democrats, and the reformist trade unions, for example, the demand for work for the unemployed, the repeal of laws limiting the powers of the municipalities, etc., can and should be utilized for the establishment of a united front of the working class."

Comrade Dimitroff pointed out concretely that in Belgium, a number of demands of the de Man plan could have been supported, and a united front brought about for a struggle to carry them out (*"shortening of the working day"*, *"normalization of wages"*, *"a minimum wage"*, "organization of an all-embracing system of *social insurance*", "greater convenience in living conditions through new *housing conditions*", and so forth).

"We should go to the labor organizations of Belgium", said Comrade Dimitroff, "and say to them: The capitalists have already received enough and even too much. Let us demand that the Social-Democratic ministers now carry out the promises they made to the workers. Let us get together in a *united front* for the *successful defense* of our interests. Minister Vandervelde, we support the demands on behalf of the workers contained in *your* platform; but we tell you frankly that we take these demands *seriously*, that we want action and not empty words, and therefore are uniting hundreds of thousands of workers *to struggle* for these demands!"

In this way, said Comrade Dimitroff, the Communists in countries having Social-Democratic governments ought to make use of appropriate individual demands taken from the platforms of the Social-Democratic parties themselves and of the election promises of the Social-Democratic

inisters, as the starting point for developing joint action with the Social-emocratic Parties and organizations on the basis of other demands.]

It must further be borne in mind that if in general joint action with ie Social-Democratic parties and organizations require that the Com-unists exercise serious and substantiated criticism of Social-Democracy s the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, nd untiringly explain to the Social-Democratic workers in a comradely ay the program and slogans of Communism, in countries having Social-emocratic governments this task is of particular importance in the ruggle for the united front.

THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

Comrades, the most important stage in the consolidation of the nited front must be the establishment of national and international ade union unity.

As you know, the disruptive tactics of the reformist leaders were plied most virulently in the trade unions. The reason for this is clear. ere their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie found its actical culmination directly in the factories, to the detriment of the tal interests of the working class. This, of course, gave rise to sharp iticism and resistance on the part of the revolutionary workers under e leadership of the Communists. That is why the struggle between mmunism and reformism raged most fiercely in the trade unions.

[Comrade Dimitroff then went on to point out that the more difficult e situation became for capitalism, the more reactionary the position the leaders of the Amsterdam trade unions, and the more aggressive re their measures against all opposition elements within the trade ions (in 1933 alone in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Sweden, e most disgraceful circulars were issued urging the expulsion of Com-unists and revolutionary workers from the trade unions).]

We must base our tactics [continued Comrade Dimitroff], not on the havior of individual leaders of the Amsterdam unions, no matter what fficulties their behavior may cause the class struggle, but primarily on e question of *where the masses of workers are to be found.* And here must openly declare that work in the trade unions is the sorest spot the work of all Communist Parties. We must bring about a real ange for the better in trade union work and make the question of ruggle for trade union unity the central issue.

> "What constitutes the strength of Social-Democracy in the West?" asked Comrade Stalin ten years ago. Answering this question, he said:
>
> "The fact that it has its support in the trade unions.
>
> "What constitutes the weakness of our Communist Parties in the West?
>
> "The fact that they are not yet linked with the trade unions, and that certain elements within the Communist Parties do not wish to be linked with them.
>
> "Hence, the main task of the Communist Parties of the West at the present time is to develop the campaign for unity in the

trade union movement and to bring it to its consummation; to see to it that all Communists, without exception, join the trade unions, there to work systematically and patiently to strengthen the solidarity of the working class in its fight against capital, and thus attain the conditions that will enable the Communist Parties to rely upon the trade unions."*

Has this precept of Comrade Stalin's been followed? No, comrades, it has not.

Ignoring the urge of the workers to join the trade unions, and faced with the difficulties of working within the Amsterdam unions, many of our comrades decided to pass by this complicated task. They invariably spoke of an organizational crisis in the Amsterdam unions, of the workers deserting the unions, but failed to notice that after some decline at the beginning of the world economic crisis, these unions later began to grow again. The peculiarity of the trade union movement has been precisely the fact that the attacks of the bourgeoisie on trade union rights, the attempts in a number of countries to unify the trade unions (Poland, Hungary, etc.), the curtailment of social insurance, and wage cuts, forced the workers notwithstanding the lack of resistance displayed by the reformist trade union leaders to rally still more closely around these unions, because the workers wanted and still want to see in the trade unions the militant champions of their vital class interests. This explains the fact that most of the Amsterdam unions in France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, etc., have grown in membership during the last few years. The American Federation of Labor has also considerably increased its membership in the past two years.

[Comrade Dimitroff further pointed to the weakness of trade union work in the capitalist countries and particularly in Germany. Comrade Dimitroff indicated the favorable example of the Communist Parties of Austria and France in the struggle for trade union unity. At the time when Otto Bauer launched the slogan that the free trade unions in Austria could only be restored after the fall of fascism, the Communists undertook the *work of restoring* the trade unions. "Each phase of that work", said Comrade Dimitroff, "was a bit of the living united front of the Austrian proletariat. The successful re-establishment of the free trade unions in underground conditions was a serious blow to fascism."]

In *France* the united front has unquestionably served as a mighty impetus towards the establishment of trade union unity. The leaders of the General Confederation of Labor have hampered and still hamper in every way the realization of unity, countering the main issue of the class policy of the trade unions by raising issues of a subordinate and secondary or formal character. An unquestionable success in the struggle for trade union unity has been the establishment of *single unions* on a local scale, embracing, in the case of the railroad workers, for instance, approximately three-quarters of the membership of both trade unions.

We are definitely for the re-establishment of *trade union unity in*

* Stalin, "The Results of the Work of the Fourteenth Conference of the R.C.P.", *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 160, International Publishers, New York.

a country and on an international scale. We are for one union in a industry.

We stand for one federation of trade unions in each country. We are one international federation of trade unions organized according to ustries.

We stand for one International of trade unions based on the class ggle. We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bul- ks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism.

only condition for uniting the trade unions is: *Struggle against tal, struggle against fascism, and internal trade union democracy.*

Time does not stand still. To us the question of trade union unity a national as well as international scale is a question of the great of uniting our class in mighty, single trade union organizations nst the class enemy.

We welcome the fact that on the eve of May First of this year the International of Labor Unions addressed the Amsterdam Interna- al with the proposal to consider jointly the question of the terms, ods and forms of unification of the world trade union movement. leaders of the Amsterdam International rejected that proposal, using stock argument that unity in the trade union movement is possible within the Amsterdam International, which, by the way, includes st none but trade unions in a number of European countries.

But the Communists working in the trade unions must continue to ggle indefatigably for the unity of the trade union movement. The of the Red trade unions and the R.I.L.U. is to do all in their power asten the hour of joint struggle of all trade unions against the sive of capital and fascism, to establish a united trade union move- t, despite the stubborn resistance of the reactionary leaders of the terdam International. The Red trade unions and the R.I.L.U. must ve our unstinted support in this matter.

In countries where small Red trade unions exist we recommend to for their affiliation with the big reformist unions, but to insist on right to defend their views and on the reinstatement of expelled bers. But in countries where big Red trade unions exist parallel big reformist trade unions, we must work for the convening of *y congresses* on the basis of platforms of struggle against the capital- ffensive and of ensuring *trade union democracy.*

It should be stated categorically that any Communist worker, any lutionary worker who does not belong to the mass trade union of his stry, who does not fight to transform the reformist trade union into al class trade union organization, who does not fight for trade n unity on the basis of the class struggle, such Communist worker, revolutionary worker, does not discharge his elementary proletarian . (*Applause.*)

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE YOUTH

I have already pointed out the role which the drawing of the youth the fascist organizations played in the victory of fascism. In speaking

of the youth, we must state frankly that we have neglected our task of drawing the masses of the toiling youth into the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of war; we have neglected these tasks in a number of countries. We have underestimated the enormous importance of the youth in the fight against fascism. We have not always taken count of the specific economic, political and cultural interests of the youth. We have likewise not paid proper attention to revolutionary education of the youth.

All this has been utilized very cleverly by fascism, which in some countries, particularly in Germany, has inveigled large sections of the youth on to the anti-proletarian road. It should be borne in mind that the glamor of militarism is not the only enticement with which fascism captures the youth. It feeds and clothes some of them in its detachments, gives work to others, even sets up so-called cultural institutions for the youth, trying in this way to imbue them with the idea that it really can and wants to feed, clothe, teach and provide work for the masses of the toiling youth.

In a number of capitalist countries, our *Young Communist Leagues* are still largely sectarian organizations divorced from the masses. Their fundamental weakness is that they are still trying to copy the Communist Parties, their forms and methods of work, forgetting that the Young Communist League *is not a Communist Party of the youth.* They do not sufficiently take into consideration the fact that this is an organization having its own specific tasks. Its methods and forms of work, of education and of struggle, must be adapted to the specific level and needs of the youth.

Our Young Communists have given memorable examples of heroism in the fight against fascist violence and bourgeois reaction. But they still lack the ability to win the masses of the youth away from hostile influences by dint of stubborn, concrete work. This is attested by the fact that they have not yet overcome their opposition to work in the fascist mass organizations, and that their approach to the Socialist youth and other non-Communist youth is not always correct.

A great part of the responsibility for all this must be borne, of course, by the Communist Parties as well, for they ought to lead and support the Young Communist League in its work. For the problem of the youth is not only a Y.C.L. problem. *It is a problem for the entire Communist movement.* In the struggle for the youth, the Communist Parties and the Young Communist League organizations must actually effect a decisive change. The main task of the Communist youth movement in capitalist countries is to advance boldly in the direction of bringing about the *united front*, along the path of organizing and uniting the toilers of the young generation. The tremendous importance for the revolutionary movement of the youth that attaches to even the first steps taken in this direction is shown by the examples of *France* and the *United States* during the recent past. It was sufficient in these countries to proceed to apply the united front, when considerable successes were at once achieved. In the sphere of the international united front, the successful initiative of the anti-fascist and anti-war committee

aris in bringing about the international cooperation of all *non-st* youth organizations is also worthy of note in this connection.

These recent successful steps in the united front movement of the n also show that the forms which the united front of the youth is sume must not be stereotyped, nor be necessarily the same as those with in the practice of the Communist Parties. The Young Com-st Leagues must strive in every way to unite the forces of all non-st mass organizations of the youth, including the formation of us kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, ust the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped very right, against the militarization of the youth and for the mic and cultural rights of the young generation, in order to draw young toilers over to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter e they may be—in the factories, the forced labor camps, the labor anges, the army barracks and the fleet, the schools, or in the us sports, cultural or other organizations.

n developing and strengthening the Y.C.L., our Y.C.L. members work for the formation of anti-fascist associations of the Com-st and Socialist Youth Leagues on a platform of class struggle.

WOMEN AND THE UNITED FRONT

Comrade Dimitroff further pointed out that no less underestimation shown to the work among toiling women—the working women, un-oyed women, peasant women and housewives whom the fascists en-with special cruelty and cynicism—as to work among the youth.]

Communists, above all our women Communists must remember that cannot be a successful fight against fascism and war unless the masses of women are drawn into it.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

n connection with the changed international and internal situation, tional importance attaches in all colonial and semi-colonial countries e question of the *anti-imperialist united front.*

n forming a wide anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the ies and semi-colonies, it is necessary above all to recognize the ty of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the es is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national ation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence e Communist Party over the broad masses.

n Brazil the problem is different from that in India, China, etc.

n *Brazil* the Communist Party, having laid a correct foundation ne development of the united anti-imperialist front by the establish-of the National Liberation Alliance, has to make every effort to d further this front by drawing into it first and foremost the millions of the peasantry, leading up to the formation of units people's revolutionary army, completely devoted to the revolution, o the establishment of the rule of the National Liberation Alliance.

n *India* the Communists have to support, extend and participate in

anti-imperialist mass activities, not excluding those which are under national reformist leadership. While maintaining their political and organizational independence, they must carry on active work inside the organizations which take part in the Indian National Congress, facilitating the process of crystallization of a national revolutionary wing among them, for the purpose of further developing the national liberation movement of the Indian peoples against British imperialism.

In *China*, where the people's movement has already led to the formation of Soviet districts over a considerable territory of the country and to the organization of a powerful Red Army, the predatory attack of Japanese imperialism and the treason of the Nanking Government have brought into jeopardy the national existence of the great Chinese people. Only the Chinese Soviets can act as a unifying center in the struggle against the enslavement and partition of China by the imperialists, as a unifying center which will rally all anti-imperialist forces for the national defense of the Chinese people.

We therefore approve the initiative taken by our courageous brother Party of China in the creation of a most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents, jointly with all those organized forces existing on the territory of China which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people. I am sure that I express the sentiments and thoughts of our entire Congress if I state that we send our warmest fraternal greetings, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, to all the Soviets of China, to the Chinese revolutionary people. (*Loud applause, all rise.*) We send our ardent fraternal greetings to the heroic Red Army of China, tried in a thousand battles. (*Loud applause.*) And we assure the Chinese people of our firm resolve to support its struggle for its complete liberation from all imperialist robbers and their Chinese henchmen. (*Loud applause, all rise. The ovation lasts several minutes. Cheers from all delegates.*)

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED FRONT

Comrades, we have taken a bold and determined course towards the united front of the working class, and are ready to carry it out with full consistency.

If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front *only* in the struggle for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a *government* on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a *government of the proletarian united front*, or of the *anti-fascist people's front*, will become not only possible but necessary in the interests of the proletariat. (*Applause.*) And in that case we shall declare for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation.

I am not speaking of a government which may be formed *after* the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is not impossible, of course,

t in some country, immediately after the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeoisie, there may be formed a Soviet government on the basis a government bloc of the Communist Party with a definite party its Left wing) participating in the revolution. After the October volution the victorious Party of the Russian Bolsheviks, as we know, luded representatives of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in the viet government. This was a specific feature of the first Soviet gov- ment after the victory of the October Revolution.

I am not speaking of such a case, but of the possible formation of nited front government on the eve of and before the victory of the viet revolution.

What kind of government is this? And in what situation could re be any question of such a government?

It is primarily *a government of struggle against fascism and re- ion.* It must be a government arising as the result of the united nt movement and in no way restricting the activity of the Communist rty and the mass organizations of the working class, but on the ntrary taking determined measures against the counter-revolutionary ancial magnates and their fascist agents.

At a suitable moment, relying on the growing united front move- nt, the Communist Party of a given country will declare for the mation of such a government on the basis of a definite anti-fascist tform.

Under what objective conditions will it be possible to form such a ernment? In the most general terms, our reply to this question will as follows: Under conditions of *political crisis,* when the ruling sses are no longer in a condition to cope with the mighty upsurge of mass anti-fascist movement. But this is only a general perspective, hout which it is scarcely possible in practice to form a united front ernment. Only the existence of definite and *specific prerequisites* put on the order of the day the question of forming such a govern- nt as a politically *necessary* task. It seems to me that the following requisites deserve the greatest attention in this connection.

First, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie must already be fficiently *disorganized* and *paralyzed,* so that the bourgeoisie cannot vent the formation of a government of struggle against reaction l fascism;

Second, the broadest masses of toilers, particularly the mass trade ons, must be in a violent state of revolt *against fascism and reaction, are not yet ready* to rise in insurrection, to *fight under Communist -ty leadership for the achievement of Soviet power;*

Third, the differentiation and Leftward movement in the ranks of ial-Democracy and other parties participating in the united front st already have reached the point where a considerable proportion of m demand *ruthless measures against the fascists and the other ctionaries,* struggle together with the Communists against fascism, openly come out against that reactionary section of their own party ch is hostile to Communism.

When and in what country a situation will actually arise in which

these prerequisites will be present in a sufficient degree, it is impossible to state in advance. But inasmuch as such a possibility *is not precluded in any of the capitalist countries* we must reckon with it, and not only orientate and prepare ourselves but orientate also the working class accordingly.

The fact that we are bringing up this question for discussion at all today is, of course, connected with our evaluation of the situation and the immediate prospects, also with the actual growth of the united front movement in a number of countries during the recent past. For more than ten years the situation in the capitalist countries has been such that it was not necessary for the Communist International to discuss a question of this kind.

You remember, comrades, that our Fourth Congress, in 1922, and again at the Fifth Congress, in 1924, the question of the slogan of a *workers'*, or a *workers' and peasants' government*, was under discussion. Originally the issue turned essentially upon a question which was almost analogous to the one we are discussing today. The debates that took place at that time in the Communist International concerning this question, and in particular the political *errors* which were committed in connection with it, have to this day retained their importance for *sharpening our vigilance against the danger of deviation to the Right or "Left" from the Bolshevik line on this question.* Therefore I shall briefly point out a few of these errors, in order to draw from them the lessons necessary for the present policy of our Parties.

The *first* series of mistakes was determined precisely by the circumstance that the question of a workers' government was not clearly and firmly interlinked with the existence of a political crisis. Owing to this the *Right opportunists* were able to interpret matters as though we should strive for the formation of a workers' government, supported by the Communist Party, in any, so to speak, "normal" situation. The *ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, recognized only such a workers' government as could be formed exclusively by armed insurrection, *after* the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Both views were wrong In order to avoid a repetition of such mistakes, we now lay *such great stress on the exact consideration* of the specific, concrete circumstances of the political crisis and the upsurge of the mass movement, in which the formation of a united front government may prove possible and politically necessary.

The *second* series of errors were determined by the circumstance that the question of a workers' government was not interlinked with the development of the militant mass *united front movement of the proletariat.* Thus the *Right opportunists* were enabled to distort the question, reducing it to the unprincipled tactics of forming blocs with Social-Democratic Parties on the basis of purely parliamentary arrangements. The *ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, shouted: "No coalitions with the counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats!" regarding all Social-Democrats as counter-revolutionaries at bottom.

Both were wrong, and we now emphasize, on the one hand, that we are not in the least anxious for such a "workers' government" as would be nothing more nor less than an enlarged Social-Democratic government.

even prefer to waive calling it a "workers' government", and *speak united front government* which in political character is something olutely different, *different in principle*, from all the Social-Democratic ernments which usually call themselves "workers' (or Labor) gov- ments". While the Social-Democratic government is an instrument of s collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the interest of the preservation apitalist order, a *united front government* is an instrument of col- ration between the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and r anti-fascist parties, in the interest of the entire toiling population, overnment of struggle against fascism and reaction. Obviously e is a radical *difference* between these two things.

On the other hand, we emphasize the necessity of seeing the *differ- between the two different camps of Social-Democracy*. As I have ady pointed out, there is a reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, alongside of it there exists and is growing the camp of the Left al-Democrats (without quotation marks), of workers who are be- ing revolutionary. The decisive difference between them in practice sists in their attitude to the united front of the working class. The tionary Social-Democrats are *against* the united front, they slander united front movement, they sabotage and disintegrate it, as it ermines their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. The Left ial-Democrats are *for the united front;* they defend, develop and ngthen the united front movement. Inasmuch as this united front ement is a militant movement against fascism and reaction, it will be nstant motive force, impelling the united front government to strug- against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The more powerfully this mass ement develops, the greater the force which it can offer to the govern- t to combat the reactionaries. And the better this mass movement be organized *from below*, the wider the network of *non-partisan s organs of the united front in the factories*, among the *unemployed*, ng the *workers' districts*, among the *small people of town and coun-* the greater will be the guarantee against a possible degeneration he policy of the united front government.

The *third* series of mistaken views which came to light during our mer debates touched precisely on the *practical policy* of the "workers' ernment". The *Right opportunists* considered that a "workers' gov- ment" ought to keep "within the framework of bourgeois democ- y", and consequently ought not to take any steps going beyond this mework. The *ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, actually refused to e any attempt to form a united front government.

In 1923 *Saxony* and *Thuringia* presented a clear picture of a Right ortunist "workers' government" in action. The entry of the Commu- s into the Saxony government jointly with the Left Social-Democrats igner group) was no mistake in itself; on the contrary, the revolu- ary situation in Germany fully justified this step. But, when par- pating in the government, the Communists should have used their itions primarily *for the purpose of arming the proletariat*. This they not do. They did not even requisition a single apartment of the n, although the housing shortage among the workers was so great

that many of them were still without a roof over their heads, together with their wives and children. They also did *nothing* to organize the revolutionary mass movement of the workers. They behaved generally like *ordinary* parliamentary ministers "within the framework of bourgeois-democracy". As you know this was the result of the opportunist policy of Brandler and his adherents. The result was such bankruptcy that we are still compelled to refer to the government of Saxony as the classical example of how revolutionaries should *not* behave when in office.

Comrades, we demand of every united front government an entirely different policy. We demand that such a government carry out definite and *fundamental revolutionary demands* required by the situation. For instance, control of production, control of the banks, disbanding of the police, its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on "searching out forms of *transition or approach* to the proletarian revolution". It may be that in a number of countries the *united front government* will prove to be *one* of the most important transitional forms. The "Left" doctrinaires always evaded this precept of Lenin's. Like the limited propagandists that they were, they spoke only of "aims", without ever worrying about "forms of transition". The Right opportunists, on the other hand, tried to establish a special "*democratic intermediate stage*" lying between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the purpose of instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary procession from the one dictatorship to the other. This fictitious "intermediate stage" they also called the "transitional form", and even quoted Lenin on the subject! But this piece of swindling was not difficult to expose; for Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to the "*proletarian revolution*", *i.e.*, to the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and not of some transitional form *between* the bourgeois and proletarian dictatorship.

Why did Lenin attribute such exceptionally great importance to the form of transition to the proletarian revolution? Because he bore in mind "*the fundamental law of all great revolutions*", the law that for the masses propaganda and agitation alone cannot take the place of *their own political experience*, when it is a question of attracting really broad masses of the toilers to the side of the revolutionary vanguard, without which a victorious struggle for power is impossible. It is a common mistake of a Leftist character to imagine that as soon as a political (or revolutionary) crisis arises, it is enough for the Communist leaders to throw out the slogan of revolutionary insurrection, and the broad masses will follow them. No, even in such a crisis the masses are far from always being ready to do so. We saw this in the case of *Spain*. To help the *millions* to master as rapidly as possible, through their own experience, what they have to do, where to find a radical solution, what party is worthy of their confidence—these among others are the purposes for which both transitional slogans and special "forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution" are necessary. Otherwise the

t mass of the people, a prey to petty bourgeois-democratic illusions traditions, may waver even when there is a revolutionary situation, procrastinate and stray, without finding the road to revolution and come under the ax of the fascist executioners.

That is why we indicate the possibility of forming a government he anti-fascist united front in the conditions of a political crisis. In ar as such a government will really prosecute the struggle against enemies of the people, and give a free hand to the working class the Communist Party, we Communists shall accord it our unstinted port, and as soldiers of the revolution shall take our place in the *line of fire*. But we state frankly to the masses:

Final salvation this government *cannot* bring. It is not in a position verthrow the class rule of the exploiters, and for this reason cannot ly eliminate the danger of fascist counter-revolution. Consequently necessary *to prepare for the Socialist revolution!* Soviet power and Soviet power can bring such salvation!

In estimating the present development of the world situation, we that a *political crisis* is maturing in quite a number of countries. s determines the great urgency and importance of a firm decision by Congress on the question of a united front government.

If our Parties are able to utilize in a Bolshevik fashion the opportunity of forming a united front government, of waging the struggle its formation and the existence in power of such a government *for revolutionary training of the masses*, this will be *the best political ification* of our policy of the formation of united front governments.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

One of the weakest aspects of the anti-fascist struggle of our ties lies in the fact that they *react inadequately and too slowly to demagogy of fascism*, and to this day continue to look with disdain n the problems of the struggle against fascist ideology. Many com- s did not believe that so reactionary a variety of bourgeois ideology he ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the t of lunacy, was capable of gaining a mass influence at all. This a great mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the rmost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation he broad masses of the people renders certain sections of them eptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction.

We must under no circumstances underrate this fascist capacity ideological infection. On the contrary, we must develop for our an extensive ideological struggle on the basis of clear, popular argu- tation and a correct, well thought-out approach to the peculiarities of national psychology of the masses of the people.

The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every on so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that exalted and heroic in its past, while all that was degrading or nsive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as pons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being

published in Germany which pursue only one aim—to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion.

The new-baked National-Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the last two thousand years, by virtue of some "historical law", a certain line of development had run through it like a red threat which led to the appearance on the historical scene of a national "savior", a "Messiah", of the *German* people, a certain "corporal" of *Austrian* extraction! In these books the greatest figures of the German people in the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.

Mussolini makes every effort to capitalize the heroic figure of Garibaldi. The French fascists bring to the fore as their heroine Joan of Arc. The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. The Bulgarian fascists make use of the national liberation movement of the seventies and its heroes beloved of the people, Vassil Levsky, Stephan Karaj, and others.

Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to enlighten the masses on the past of their own people, in a historically correct fashion, in a genuinely Marxist, a Leninist-Marxist, a Lenin-Stalinist spirit, who do nothing to *link up their present struggle with its revolutionary traditions and past*—voluntarily relinquish to the fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation, that the fascists may bamboozle the masses. (*Applause.*)

No, comrades, *we are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* For we Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not of those narrow-minded functionaries of the trade unions or leaders of the medieval guild handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society—the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which on one-sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. We defend the vital interests of all the exploited toiling strata, *i.e.*, of the overwhelming majority of the people in any capitalist country.

We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents, on principle,* of bourgeois nationalism of every variety. But we *are not supporters of national nihilism,* and should never act as such. The task of educating the workers and all toilers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But whoever thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at all the national sentiments of the broad toiling masses is far from genuine Bolshevism, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the national question. (*Applause.*)

Lenin, who always fought bourgeois nationalism resolutely and con-

tently, gave us an example of the correct approach to the problem national sentiments, in his article, "On the National Pride of the eat-Russians", written in 1914. I shall quote a passage:

> "Are we enlightened Great-Russian proletarians impervious to feeling of national pride? Certainly not! We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise *its* laboring masses (*i.e.*, nine-tenths of *its* population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody, are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those acts of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great-Russians; that *we* have given the world Radishchev, the Decembrists, the declasse revolutionaries of the seventies; that in 1905 the Great-Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses. . . . We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, *too*, has created a revolutionary class; that it, *too*, has proven capable of giving humanity great examples of struggle for freedom and for socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, great famines, and great servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.
>
> "We are filled with national pride, and therefore we *particularly* hate *our* slavish past . . . and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanoffs, Bobrinskys, Purishkeviches that cover with shame our Great-Russian national dignity." *

This is what Lenin wrote on national pride.

I think, comrades, that when the fascists, at the Leipzig trial, attempted to slander the Bulgarians as a barbarian people, I was not wrong in taking up the defense of the national honor of the toiling asses of the Bulgarian people, who are struggling heroically against e fascist usurpers, the real barbarians and savages (*strong and continued applause*), nor was I wrong in declaring that I had no cause to ashamed of being a Bulgarian but that, on the contrary, I was proud being a son of the heroic Bulgarian working class. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, "acclimatize itself" in each country in order to sink deep roots in its native nd. *National forms* of the proletarian class struggle and of the labor ovement in the individual countries are in no contradiction to proleurian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms hat the *international interests* of the proletariat can be successfully efended.

It goes without saying that it is necessary *everywhere* and on all casions to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 100-101, International Publishers, New York.

on the pretext of defending general national interests, the fascist bourgeoisie is conducting its egotistical policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But we must not *confine ourselves* to this. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are in no contradiction whatever to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will signify the *saving of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By the *very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending the democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the very fact of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism, from barbarous fascism which is violating it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture, and raise it to the highest stage of florescence as a truly national culture—*national in form and socialist in content*—which, under *Stalin's* leadership, is being realized in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes. (*Applause.*)

Proletarian internationalism not only does not contradict this struggle of the toilers of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, provides the *support* which is necessary for victory in this struggle. The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in closest alliance* with the victorious proletariat of the great Soviet Union. *Only* by struggling hand in hand with the proletariat of the imperialist countries can the colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities achieve their freedom. The road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies *only* through the revolutionary alliance of the working class of the imperialist countries with the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, because, as *Marx* taught us, "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations".

Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they *do not at the same time show* in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke. And again, on the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the toiling masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their "own" bourgeoisie for the right to complete self-determination of the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for

toilers of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices. If we act in this spirit, if in all our mass work we prove convincingly we are free of both national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism, and only then shall we be able to wage a really successful struggle inst the chauvinist demagogy of the fascists.

This is the reason why a correct and practical application of the inist-Stalinist national policy is of such paramount importance. It is *uestionably an essential* preliminary condition for a successful strug- against chauvinism—this main instrument of ideological influence he fascists upon the masses. (*Applause.*)

III. CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in the struggle for the establishment of the united nt the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party in- ases extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at bottom the iator, the organizer and the driving force of the united front of the king class.

The Communist Parties can ensure the mobilization of the broadest sses of the toilers for a united struggle against fascism and the nsive of capital *only if they strengthen their own ranks in every pect*, if they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the concrete ation and alignment of class forces.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses, our Parties he capitalist countries have undoubtedly *grown in stature and have n considerably steeled.* But it would be a most dangerous mistake rest on this achievement. The more the united front of the working s extends the more will new complex problems rise before us and more will it be necessary for us to work on the political and organiza- al consolidation of our Parties. The united front of the proletariat ngs to the fore an army of workers which will be able to carry out mission if this army is headed by a leading force which will point its aims and paths. This leading force can *only be a strong prole- ian, revolutionary party.*

If we Communists exert every effort to establish a united front, do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members for Communist Parties. But we must strengthen the Communist Parties very way and increase their membership *for the very reason* that we iously want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of Communist Parties is not a narrow Party concern but the concern the entire working class.

The unity, revolutionary coherence and fighting preparedness of the mmunist Parties constitute most valuable capital which belongs not y to us but to the entire working class. We have combined and shall

continue to combine our readiness to march jointly with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations to the struggle against fascism with an irreconcilable struggle against Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bourgeoisie, and consequently also against any *penetration* of this ideology into our own ranks.

In boldly and resolutely carrying out the policy of the united front, we meet in our own ranks with obstacles which we must remove at all costs in the shortest possible time.

After the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, a *successful struggle was waged* in all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries *against any tendency towards an opportunist adaptation to the conditions of capitalist stabilization and against any infection with reformist and legalist illusions.* Our Parties purged their ranks of various kinds of Right opportunists, thus strengthening their Bolshevik unity and fighting capacity. Less successful and frequently entirely lacking was the fight against *sectarianism.* Sectarianism manifested itself no longer in primitive, open forms, as in the first years of the existence of the Communist International, but, under cover of a formal recognition of the Bolshevik theses, hindered the development of a Bolshevik mass policy. In our day this is often no longer an *"infantile disorder"*, as Lenin wrote, but a *deeply rooted vice,* which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of the revolution.

In the present situation sectarianism, *self-satisfied* sectarianism, as we designate it in the draft resolution, *more than anything else* impedes our struggle for the realization of the united front. Sectarianism, satisfied with its *doctrinaire narrowness,* its divorcement from the real life of the masses; satisfied with its *simplified methods* of solving the most complex problems of the working class movement on the basis of stereotyped schemes; sectarianism, which professes to know all and considers it needless to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labor movement. In short, sectarianism to which, as they say, mountains are mere stepping-stones.

Self-satisfied sectarianism *will not and cannot* understand that the leadership of the working class by the Communist Party cannot be attained by a process of spontaneous development. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working class must be won. For this purpose it is necessary, not to rant about the leading role of the Communists, but *to merit and win the confidence* of the working masses by everyday mass work and correct policy. This will only be possible if we Communists in our political work seriously take into account the actual level of the class-consciousness of the masses, the degree to which they have become revolutionized, if we soberly appraise the concrete situation, not on the basis of our wishes, but on the basis of the actual state of affairs. Patiently, step by step, we must make it easier for the broad masses to come over to the positions of Communism. We ought never to forget these warning words of Lenin, so forcefully expressed:

". . . this is the whole point—we must *not* regard that which is obsolete *for us* as being obsolete *for the class*, as being obsolete *for the masses.*"*

Is it not a fact, comrades, that there are still not a few such doc- aire elements left in our ranks who at all times and places sense ning but danger in the policy of the united front? For such comrades whole united front is one unrelieved peril. But this sectarian ckling for principle" is nothing but political helpnessness in face of difficulties of directly leading the struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism finds expression *particularly* in overestimating the olutionization of the masses, in overestimating the speed at which they abandoning the positions of reformism, in attempts to leap over cult stages and over-complicated tasks of the movement. Methods of ing the masses have in practice been frequently replaced by the hods of leading a narrow party group. The power of traditional acts between the masses and their organizations and leaders has underestimated, and when the masses did not break off these con- s immediately the attitude taken towards them was just as harsh hat adopted towards their reactionary leaders. Tactics and slogans e tended to become stereotyped for all countries, and the specific ures of the specific conditions in each individual country have been out of account. The necessity of stubborn struggle in the very midst he masses themselves to win their confidence has tended to be red, the struggle for the partial demands of the workers and work he reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations has been ected. The policy of the united front has frequently been replaced bare appeals and abstract propaganda.

In no less a degree have sectarian views hindered the correct ction of people, the training and developing of *cadres connected the masses, enjoying the confidence* of the masses, cadres whose olutionary mettle has been *tried* and *tested* in class battles, cadres are capable of combining the practical *experience of mass* work with *staunchness of principle of a Bolshevik.*

Thus sectarianism has to a considerable extent retarded the growth he Communist Parties, has impeded the prosecution of a real mass cy, prevented our taking advantage of the difficulties of the class ny to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary movement, hin- ed the winning over of the broad proletarian masses to the side of the mmunist Parties.

While fighting most resolutely to overcome and exterminate the last nants of self-satisfied sectarianism, we must increase to a maximum vigilance in regard to and the struggle against *Right opportunism* against everyone of its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind the danger of Right opportunism will increase in proportion as wide united front develops more and more. Already there are ten- cies to reduce the role of the Communist Party in the ranks of the

* Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, p. 41, Little Lenin Library, Inter- mal Publishers, New York.

united front and to effect a reconciliation with Social-Democratic ideology. Nor must the fact be lost sight of that the tactics of the united front are a method of convincing the Social-Democratic workers by object lesson of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and *that they are not a reconciliation with Social-Democratic ideology and practice.* A successful struggle for the establishment of the united front imperatively demands constant struggle in our ranks against tendencies to *depreciate the role of the Party,* against *legalist illusions,* against reliance on *spontaneity and automatism,* both in the liquidation of fascism and in conducting the united front against the *slightest vacillation at the moment of determined action.*

> "It is necessary," Stalin teaches us, "that the Party be able to combine in its work the greatest adhesion to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism) with a maximum of contacts and connections with the masses (not to be confused with 'tailism'!), without which it is not only impossible for the Party to teach the masses but also to learn from them, not only to lead the masses and raise them to the level of the Party, but to listen to the voice of the masses and divine their sorest needs." (Stalin, "The Perspective of the Communist Party of Germany and Bolshevization," *Pravda,* No. 27, February 3, 1925.)

POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, the development of the united front of joint struggle of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers against fascism and the offensive of capital likewise brings to the fore the question of *political unity, of a single political mass party of the working class.* The Social-Democratic workers are becoming more and more convinced by experience that the struggle against the class enemy demands unity of political leadership, inasmuch as *quality in leadership* impedes the further development and reinforcement of the joint struggle of the working class.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution makes it imperative that there be a *single party of the proletariat* in each country. Of course, it is not so easy or simple to achieve this. This requires stubborn work and struggle and will of necessity be a more or less protracted process. The Communist Parties must, in reliance upon the growing urge of the workers for a unification of the Social-Democratic Parties, or of individual organizations, with Communist Parties, firmly and confidently take the initiative in this unification. The cause of amalgamating the forces of the working class in a single revolutionary proletarian party, at the time when the international labor movement is entering the period of closing the split in its ranks, is *our cause,* is the cause of the Communist International.

But while it is sufficient for the establishment of the united front of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties to have an agreement to struggle against fascism, the offensive of capital and war, the achievement of political unity is possible only on the basis of a number of definite conditions involving principles.

This unification is possible only:

First, on condition of their *complete independence of the bourgeoisie*

the complete rupture of the bloc of Social-Democracy with the rgeoisie;

Second, on condition that unity of action be first brought about;

Third, on condition that the necessity of the *revolutionary over-ow of the rule of the bourgeoisie* and the establishment of the *dic-rship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* be recognized;

Fourth, on condition that support of one's own bourgeoisie *in erialist war* be rejected;

Fifth, on condition that the Party be constructed on the basis of ocratic centralism, which ensures unity of will and action, and has n tested by the *experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.*

We must explain to the Social-Democratic workers, patiently and omradely fashion, why political unity of the working class is impos-e without these conditions. We must discuss together with them sense and significance of these conditions.

Why is it necessary for the realization of the political unity of the etariat that there be complete independence of the bourgeoisie and a ture of the bloc of Social-Democrats with the bourgeoisie?

Because the entire experience of the labor movement, particularly he experience of the 15 years of coalition policy in Germany, has wn that the policy of class collaboration, the policy of dependence the bourgeoisie, leads to the defeat of the working class and to the ory of fascism. And only the road of irreconcilable class struggle inst the bourgeoisie, the road of the Bolsheviks, is the true road to ory.

Why must unity of action be first established as a preliminary dition of political unity?

Because unity of action to repel the offensive of capital and of ism is possible and necessary even before the majority of the workers united on a common political platform for the overthrow of capital-„ while the working out of unity of views on the main lines and s of the struggle of the proletariat, without which a unification of parties is impossible, requires a more or less extended period of time. l unity of views is worked out best of all in joint struggle against class enemy *even today.* To propose to unite at once instead of ning a united front means to place the cart before the horse and to gine that the cart will then move ahead. (*Laughter.*) Precisely the reason that for us the question of political unity is not a neuver, as it is for many Social-Democratic leaders, we insist on the lization of unity of action as one of the most important stages in struggle for political unity.

Why is it necessary to recognize the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the prole-at in the form of Soviet power?

Because the experience of the victory of the great October Revolution he one hand, and, on the other, the bitter lessons learned in Germany, stria and Spain during th entire post-war period have conformed once e that the victory of the proletariat is possible only by means of the olutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the bourgeoisie ild rather drown the labor movement in a sea of blood than allow the etariat to establish socialism by peaceful means. The experience the October Revolution has demonstrated patently that the basic tent of the proletarian revolution is the question of the proletarian

dictatorship, which is called to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, to arm the revolution for the struggle against imperialism and to lead the revolution to the complete victory of socialism. In order to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship of the vast majority over an insignificant minority, over the exploiters—and only as such can it be brought about—for this are needed *Soviets* embracing all strata of the working class, the basic masses of the peasantry and the rest of the toilers, without the awakening of whom, without the inclusion of whom in the front of the revolutionary struggle, the victory of the proletariat cannot be consolidated.

Why is the refusal of support to the bourgeoisie in an imperialist war a condition of political unity?

Because the bourgeoisie wages imperialist war for its predatory purposes, against the interests of the vast majority of the peoples, under whatever guise this war may be waged. Because all imperialists combine their feverish preparations for war with extremely intensified exploitation and oppression of the toilers in their own country. Support of the bourgeoisie in such a war means treason to the country and the international working class.

Why, finally, is the building of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism a condition of unity?

Because only a party built on the basis of democratic centralism can ensure unity of will and action, can lead the proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie, which has at its disposal so powerful a weapon as the centralized state apparatus. The application of the principle of democratic centralism has stood the splendid historical test of the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Yes, comrades, we are for a single mass political party of the working class. But this party must be, in the words of Comrade Stalin,

> ". . . a militant party, a revolutionary party, bold enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power, with sufficient experience to be able to orientate itself in the complicated problems that arise in a revolutionary situation and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of any submerged rocks on the way to its goal." *

This explains why it is necessary to strive for political unity on the basis of the conditions indicated.

We are for the political unity of the working class! Therefore we are ready to collaborate most closely with all Social-Democrats who are for the united front and sincerely support unification on the principles indicated. But precisely because we are for unity, we shall struggle resolutely against all "Left" demagogues who will try to make use of the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers to create new Socialist Parties or Internationals directed against the Communist movement, and thus keep deepening the split in the working class.

We welcome the aspiration which is gaining ground among Social-Democratic workers for a united front with the Communists. In this fact we see a growth of their revolutionary consciousness and a beginning of the healing of the split in the working class. Being of the opinion

* Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, p. 107, International Publishers, New York.

unity of action is a pressing necessity and the truest road to the ablishment of the political unity of the proletariat as well, we declare t the Communist International and its Sections are ready to enter negotiations with the Second International and its Sections for the ablishment of the unity of the working class in the struggle against offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist . (*Applause.*)

CONCLUSION

Comrades, I am concluding my report. As you see, we are raising umber of questions today in a new light, taking count of the change the situation since the Sixth Congress and of the lessons of our ggle, and relying on the degree of consolidation in our ranks already ieved, primarily the question of the united front and of the approach Social-Democracy, the reformist trade unions and other mass or- izations.

There are wiseacres who will sense in all this a digression from our ic positions, some sort of turn to the Right of the straight line of shevism. Well, in my country, Bulgaria, they say that a hungry ken always dreams of millet. (*Laughter, loud applause.*) Let those tical chickens think so. (*Laughter, loud applause.*)

This interests us little. For us it is important that our own Parties the broad masses of the whole world should correctly understand at we are striving for.

We would not be revolutionary Marxists, Leninists, worthy pupils Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, if we did not reconstruct our policies tactics in accordance with the changing situation and the changes urring in the labor movement.

We would not be real revolutionaries if we did not learn from our n experiences and the experience of the masses.

We want our Parties in the capitalist countries to come out and act *real political parties of the working class,* to become in actual fact a *itical factor* in the life of their countries, to pursue at all times *an ive Bolshevik mass policy and not confine themselves to propaganda l criticism, and bare appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship.*

We are enemies of all cut-and-dried schemes. We want to take into ount the concrete situation at each moment, in each place, and not *according to a fixed stereotyped* form anywhere and everywhere; to forget that in *varying* circumstances the position of the Com- nists cannot be *identical.*

We want soberly to take into account *all stages* in the development the class struggle and in the growth of the class consciousness of the sses themselves, to be able to locate and solve at each stage the *crete* problems of the revolutionary movement *corresponding to* this ge.

We want to find a *common language* with the broadest masses for purpose of struggling against the class enemy, to find ways of finally rcoming the *isolation of the revolutionary vanguard* from the masses the proletariat and all other toilers, as well as of overcoming the fatal

isolation of the working class itself from its natural allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism.

We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to proletarian revolution, *proceeding from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis.*

Following the example of our glorious Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we want to combine the *revolutionary heroism* of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and other Communists with *genuine revolutionary realism,* and put an end to the last remnants of scholastic tinkering with serious political questions.

We want to equip our Parties from every angle for the solution of the most complex political problems confronting them. For this purpose we want to raise ever higher their *theoretical level,* to train them in the spirit of live Marxism-Leninism and not dead doctrinairism.

We want to eradicate from our ranks all *self-satisfied sectarianism,* which above all blocks our road to the masses and impedes the carrying out of a truly Bolshevik mass policy. We want to intensify in every way the struggle against all concrete manifestations of *Right opportunism,* realizing that the danger from this side will increase precisely in the practice of carrying out our mass policy and struggle.

We want the Communists of each country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle,* and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectations of fine weather. (*Applause.*)

This is what we want!

And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the toilers, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International and possessed of so great and wise a pilot as our leader Comrade Stalin (a storm of applause) *be able to fulfil its historical mission with certainty—to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism!*

(*The entire hall rises and gives Comrade Dimitroff a rousing ovation.*

Cheers coming from the delegates are heard on all sides in various languages: "Hurrah! Long live Comrade Dimitroff!"

The strains of the "Internationale" sung in every language fill the air. A new storm of applause sweeps the hall.

Voices: "Long live Comrade Stalin, long live Comrade Dimitroff!" "A Bolshevik cheer for Comrade Dimitroff, the standard-bearer of the Comintern!"

Someone shouts in Bulgarian: "Hurrah for Comrade Dimitroff, the valiant warrior of the Communist International against fascism!" The delegation sing in succession their revolutionary songs—the Italians, "Bandiera Rossa", the Poles, "On the Barricades", the French, "Car-

ugnole", the Germans, "Roter Wedding", the Chinese, "March of the inese Red Army".)

SPEECH IN REPLY TO DISCUSSION

Comrades, the very full discussion on my report shows the immense erest taken by the Congress in the fundamental tactical problems d tasks of the struggle of the working class against the offensive capital and fascism, against the threat of imperialist war.

Summing up the eight-day discussion we can state that all the prinpal propositions contained in the report have met with the unanimous proval of the Congress. None of the speakers objected to the tactical ue we have proposed or to the resolution which has been submitted.

I venture to say that at none of the previous Congresses of the mmunist International has such ideological and political solidarity en revealed as at the present Congress. (*Applause.*) The complete animity displayed at the Congress indicates that the necessity of shaping our policy and tactics, in accordance with the changed conions and with due regard for the most abundant and instructive exrience of the past few years, has come to be fully recognized in r ranks.

This unanimity may undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most portant prerequisites for success in solving the paramount immediate oblem of the international proletarian movement, namely, *establishing ity of action of all sections of the working class in the struggle against scism.*

The successful solution of this problem requires, first, that Comunists wield skilfully the weapon of *Marxist-Leninist analysis*, while refully studying the specific conditions, and the alignment of class rces as they develop, and plan their activity and struggle accordingly. e must mercilessly root out the weakness, not infrequently observed our comrades, for cut-and-dried schemes, lifeless formulæ and readyade patterns. We must put an end to the state of affairs in which Comunists, when lacking the knowledge or ability for Marxist-Leninist alysis, substitute general phrases and slogans such as "the revolutiony way out of the crisis", without making the slightest serious attempt explain the conditions, the relation of class forces, the degree of volutionary maturity of the proletariat and the toiling masses, and e level of influence of the Communist Party necessary to render such revolutionary way out of the crisis possible. Without such an analysis . these catch-words become "dud" shells, empty phrases which only scure our tasks of the day. Without a concrete Marxist-Leninist anysis we shall never be able correctly to present and solve the problem of scism, the problem of the proletarian front and the general people's nt, the problem of our attitude towards bourgeois democracy, the probm of the processes going on within the working class, particularly ong the Social-Democratic workers, the problem of a united front vernment or any of the numerous other new and complex problems with

which life itself and the development of the class struggle confront us now and will confront us in the future.

Second, we need *live people*—people who have grown up from the masses of the workers, have sprung from their every-day struggle, people of militant action, wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of the proletariat, people whose brains and hands will give effect to the decisions of our Congress. Without Bolshevik, Lenin-Stalin cadres we shall be unable to solve the enormous problems that confront the toilers in the fight against fascism.

Third, we need people equipped with the *compass of Marxist-Leninist theory*, for people who are unable to make skilful use of this instrument slip into narrow, makeshift politics, take decisions only from case to case, and lose the broad perspective of the struggle which shows the masses where we are going and whither we are leading the toilers.

Fourth, we need the *organization of the masses* in order to put our decisions into practice. Our ideological and political influence alone is not enough. We must put a stop to reliance on *spontaneity in the movement* (on the hope that the movement would develop of its own accord), which is one of our fundamental weaknesses. We must remember that without persistent, prolonged, patient and sometimes apparently thankless organizational work on our part, the masses will never make for the Communist shore. In order to be able to organize the masses we must acquire Lenin's and Stalin's art of making our decisions the property not only of the Communists but also of the broadest masses of the toilers. We must learn to talk to the masses, not in the language of book formulas, but in the language of fighters in the cause of the masses, whose every word, whose every idea reflects the innermost thoughts and sentiments of millions.

It is with these problems that I should like to deal in my closing speech.

Comrades, the Congress has welcomed the new tactical lines with great enthusiasm and unanimity. Enthusiasm and unanimity are all very well, of course; but it is still better when these are combined with a well considered and critical approach to the tasks that confront us, with a proper comprehension of the decisions adopted and a real understanding of the means and methods by which these decisions are to be applied to the particular circumstances of each country.

After all, we have before now unanimously adopted good decisions, but the trouble was that not infrequently, after adopting these decisions, we at best made them the property of only the small vanguard of the working class. These decisions did not become flesh and blood of the broad masses; they did not become a guide to the action of the millions.

Can we assert that we have already finally abandoned this formal approach to adopted decisions? No. It must be said that even at this Congress the speeches of some of the comrades gave indication of remnants of formalism; a desire made itself felt at times to substitute for the concrete analysis of reality and life's experience some sort of new scheme, some sort of new, over-simplified lifeless formula, to represent *as actually existing* what we *desire*, but does *not yet exist*.

[Pointing out the necessity for a careful study and registration of specific features of the development of fascism in individual countries and at individual stages, Comrade Dimitroff emphasized Lenin's thought which warned against "stereotyped methods, mechanical leveling and identifying tactical rules and rules of struggle". This instruction particularly true, said Comrade Dimitroff, when we are speaking of enemy like fascism. *"Such an enemy must be known exactly and from aspects."*

Comrade Dimitroff further showed that it would be a gross mistake to establish any general scheme of the development of fascism for all countries and for all peoples. Using the example of Germany, France, America and the colonial countries, Comrade Dimitroff pointed out how the specific features of fascism or the fascist movement in each separate country should be *concretely* revealed.

Comrade Dimitroff emphasized that in spite of the distinctions in the development of the fascist movement in France and Germany, in spite of factors which make the offensive of fascism difficult in France, we would be short-sighted not to see the continuous growth of the fascist danger in this country. The success of the anti-fascist movement in France, which delights our hearts, cannot by any means be regarded as an indication that we have already finally barred the path to fascism.]

Unable to approach the phenomena of real life concretely, some comrades, who suffer from mental laziness, substitute general non-committal *formulas* for a careful and concrete study of the *actual* situation and the correlation of class forces. Unlike *snipers* who shoot with unerring aim, they remind us of those "crack" riflemen who regularly and unfailingly *miss* the target, shooting either too high or too low, too near or too far. But we, comrades, as Communists, active in the labor movement, as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, want to be snipers who unfailingly *hit* the target. (*Prolonged applause.*)

THE UNITED PROLETARIAN FRONT AND THE ANTI-FASCIST PEOPLE'S FRONT

Some comrades are quite needlessly racking their brains over the problem of *what to begin with—the united proletarian front or the anti-fascist people's front.*

Some say that we cannot start forming the anti-fascist people's front until we have organized a solid united front of the proletariat.

Others argue that, since the establishment of the united proletarian front meets with the resistance of Social-Democracy in a number of countries, it is better to start at once with building up the people's front, and then develop the united working class front on this basis.

Evidently both groups fail to understand that the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist people's front are inter-connected and interwoven, the one passing into the other in the process of the practical struggle against fascism as a consequence of the *living dialectics of the struggle*, and that there is certainly no Chinese wall to keep them apart.

For it cannot be seriously supposed that it is possible to establish a genuine anti-fascist people's front without securing the unity of action

of the working class itself, the *guiding force* of this anti-fascist people's front. At the same time, the further development of the united proletarian front depends, to a considerable degree, upon its transformation into a people's front against fascism.

Comrades, just picture to yourselves a devotee of cut-and-dried theories of this kind, gazing upon our resolution and contriving his pet scheme with the zeal of a true pedant:

First, local united proletarian front from below;

Then, regional united front from below;

Thereafter, united front from above, passing through the same stages;

Then, unity in the trade union movement;

After that, the enlistment of other anti-fascist parties;

This is to be followed up by the extended people's front, from above and from below;

After which the movement must be raised to a higher level, politicalized, revolutionized, and so on and so forth. (*Laughter.*)

You will say, comrades, that this is sheer nonsense. I agree with you. But the unfortunate thing is that in some form or other this kind of sectarian nonsense is still to be found quite frequently in our ranks.

[Comrade Dimitroff further indicated the concrete lines of the development of the organization of the united front of the working class and the people's anti-fascist front as applied to the concrete conditions of Great Britain, Belgium, Scandinavia, Poland and Spain.]

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED FRONT OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in view of the tactical problems confronting us it is very important to give a correct reply to the question of whether Social-Democracy at the present time is still the principal bulwark of the bourgeoisie, and if so, where?

Some of the comrades who participated in the discussion (Comrades Florin, Dutt) touched upon this question, but in view of its importance a fuller reply must be given to it, for it is a question which workers of all trends, particularly Social-Democratic workers, are asking and cannot help asking.

It must be borne in mind that in a number of countries the position of Social-Democracy in the bourgeois state, and its attitude toward the bourgeoisie, have been undergoing a change.

In the *first* place, the crisis has thoroughly shaken the position of even the most secure section of the working class, the so-called aristocracy of labor, upon which, as we know, Social-Democracy relies for support. This section, too, is beginning more and more to revise its views as to the expediency of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Second, as I pointed out in my report, the bourgeoisie in a number of countries is itself compelled to abandon bourgeois democracy and resort to the terrorist form of its dictatorship, depriving Social-Democ-

cy not only of its previous position in the political system of finance pital, but also, under certain conditions, of its legal status, perse- ting and even suppressing it.

Third, under the influence of the lessons learnt from the defeat of e workers in Germany, Austria and Spain, a defeat which was largely e result of the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the urgeoisie, and, on the other hand, under the influence of the victory Socialism in the Soviet Union as a result of Bolshevik policy and the plication of living, revolutionary Marxism, the Social-Democratic rkers are becoming revolutionized, are beginning to turn to the class uggle against the bourgeoisie.

The joint effect of all this has been to make it increasingly difficult, d in some countries actually impossible, for Social-Democracy to pre- ve its former role of bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

Failure to understand this is particularly harmful in those countries which the fascist dictatorship has deprived Social-Democracy of its al status. From this point of view the self-criticism of those German nrades, who in their speeches mentioned the necessity of ceasing to g to the letter of obsolete formulas and decisions concerning Social- mocracy, of ceasing to ignore the changes that have taken place in position, was correct. It is clear that if we ignore these changes, it l lead to a distortion of our policy which favors establishing the ity of the working class, and will facilitate the sabotage of the united nt by the reactionary elements of the Social-Democratic Parties.

The process of revolutionization in the ranks of the Social-Demo- tic Parties now going on in all countries is developing unevenly. must not be imagined that the Social-Democratic workers who are oming revolutionized will *at once* and on a mass scale adopt the position consistent class struggle, and will *straightway* unite with the Com- nists without any intermediate stages. In a number of countries this l be a more or less difficult, a more or less complicated and prolonged ocess, essentially dependent, at any rate, on the correctness of our icy and tactics. We must even reckon with the possibility that, in sing from the position of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie to position of class struggle against the bourgeoisie, some Social- mocratic Parties and organizations will continue to exist for a time independent organizations or parties. In such event there can of rse be no thought of such Social-Democratic organizations or parties ng regarded as a bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

It cannot be expected that those Social-Democratic workers who under the influence of the ideology of class collaboration with the urgeoisie, which has been instilled in them in the course of decades, l part with this ideology of their own accord, actuated solely by ective causes. No, it is our business, the business of the Communists, help them free themselves from the hold of reformist ideology. The rk of explaining the principles and program of Communism must be ried on patiently, in a comradely fashion, and must be adapted to degree of development of the individual Social-Democratic workers. r criticism of Social-Democracy must become more specific and sys-

tematic, and must be based on the experience of the Social-Democratic masses themselves.

It must be borne in mind that primarily by utilizing their experience in the joint struggle with the Communists against the class enemy will it be possible and necessary to facilitate and accelerate the revolutionary development of the Social-Democratic workers. There is no more effective means of the Social-Democratic workers abandoning their vacillation and doubts than participation in the proletarian united front.

We shall do all in our power to make it easier, not only for the Social-Democratic workers, but also for those leading members of Social-Democratic Parties and organizations who sincerely desire to adopt the revolutionary class position, to work and fight with us against the class enemy. At the same time we declare that any Social-Democratic functionary, lower official or worker who continues to uphold the disruptive tactics of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, who comes out against the united front and thus directly or indirectly aids the class enemy, will thereby incur a guilt before the working class no less than the guilt of those who are historically responsible for having supported the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration, the policy which in a number of European countries doomed the revolution in 1918 and cleared the way for fascism.

The attitude adopted towards the united front is the dividing line between the reactionary sections of Social-Democracy and the sections that are becoming revolutionary. Our assistance to the latter will be the more effective, the more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social-Democracy participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie. And within the Left camp the self-determination of the various elements will take place the sooner, the more determinedly the Communists fight for a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties. The experience of the class struggle and the participation of the Social-Democrats in the united front movement will show who in that camp will prove to be "Left" merely in words and who is really Left.

THE UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT

While the attitude of Social-Democracy toward the practical realization of the united proletarian front is, generally speaking, the principal indication in every country of whether the previous role in the bourgeois state of the Social-Democratic Party or of its individual parts has changed, and if so, to what extent, *the attitude of the Social-Democrats on the issue of a united front government* will be a particularly clear test.

When a situation arises in which the question of creating a united front government becomes an immediate practical problem, this issue will become decisive, the touchstone for the policy of Social-Democracy in the given country; either jointly with the fascist-bound bourgeoisie against the working class, or jointly with the revolutionary proletariat against fascism and reaction, not alone in words but in deeds. That is how the question will inevitably be presented at the time the united front government is formed as well as while it is in power.

I think that enough was said in my report about the character the united front government and the anti-fascist people's front government, as well as the conditions of their formation, to provide general ctical direction. To expect us over and above this to indicate all posle forms and all conditions under which such governments may be rmed would mean but to invite futile conjecture.

I would like to utter a note of warning against over-simplification the application of any hard-and-fast rules to this problem. Life is ore complex than any scheme. For example, it would be wrong to agine that the united front government is an *indispensable stage* on e road to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. That is st as wrong as the former assertion that there will be *no intermediary ages* in the fascist countries and that fascist dictatorship is *certain to immediately* superseded by proletarian dictatorship.

The whole question boils down to this: will the proletariat itself be epared at the decisive moment for the direct overthrow of the bourbisie and the establishment of its own power, and will it be able in at event to secure the support of its allies? Or, will the movement of e united proletarian front and the anti-fascist people's front at the rticular stage be in a position only to suppress or overthrow fascism, thout directly proceeding to abolish the bourgeois dictatorship? In the ter case, it would be an intolerable piece of political short-sightedness, d not serious revolutionary politics, to use this alone as a ground for fusing to create and support a united front government or a people's nt government.

It is likewise not difficult to understand that the establishment of a ited front government in countries where fascism is not yet in power something *different* from the creation of such a government in coun es where the fascist dictatorship holds sway. In the latter countries united front government can be created *only in the process of overrowing fascist rule.* In countries where the bourgeois democratic revo ion is developing, a people's front government may become a governnt of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the asantry.

As I have already pointed out in my report, the Communists will all in their power to support a united front government to the extent at the latter will really fight against the enemies of the people and ant freedom of action to the Communist Party and to the working ss. The question of whether Communists will take part in the governnt will be determined entirely by the actual situation prevailing at e time. Such questions will be settled as they arise. No handy recipes n be prescribed in advance.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

Comrade Lenski pointed out in his speech that "while mobilizing e masses to repel the onslaught of fascism against the rights of the lers, the Polish Party at the same time had its misgivings about rmulating positive democratic demands in order not to create demo-

cratic illusions among the masses". The Polish Party is, of course, not the only one in which such fear of formulating positive democratic demands exists in one way or another.

Where does that fear come from, comrades? It comes from an incorrect, non-dialectical conception of our attitude toward bourgeois democracy. We Communists are unswerving upholders of Soviet democracy, the great prototype of which is the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, where the introduction of equal suffrage and of the direct and secret ballot is proclaimed by resolution of the Seventh Congress of Soviets at the same time that the last vestiges of bourgeois democracy are being wiped out in the capitalist countries. This Soviet democracy presupposes the victory of the proletarian revolution, the conversion of private property in the means of production into public property, the embarking of the overwhelming majority of the people on the road of Socialism. This democracy does not represent a final form; it develops and will continue to develop in proportion as further progress is made in socialist construction, in the creation of classless society and in the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in economic life and in the minds of the people.

But today the millions of toilers living under capitalism are faced with the necessity of taking a definite stand on *those forms* in which the *rule of the bourgeoisie* is clad in the various countries. We are not anarchists and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country: whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed, or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open, fascist form. Being upholders of Soviet democracy, *we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains made by the working class in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains.*

How great were the sacrifices of the British working class before it secured the right to strike, a legal status for its trade unions, the right of assembly and freedom of the press, extension of the franchise, and other rights! How many tens of thousands of workers gave their lives in the revolutionary battles fought in France in the nineteenth century to obtain the elementary rights and the lawful opportunity of organizing their forces for the struggle against the exploiters! The proletariat of all countries has shed much of its blood to win bourgeois democratic liberties, and will naturally fight with all its strength to retain them.

Our attitude toward bourgeois democracy is not the same under all conditions. For instance, at the time of the October Revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks engaged in a life-and-death struggle against all political parties which opposed the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship under the slogan of the defense of bourgeois democracy. The Bolsheviks fought these parties because the banner of bourgeois democracy had at that time become the standard around which all counter-revolutionary forces mobilized to challenge the victory of the proletariat. The situation is quite different in the capitalist countries

present. Now the fascist counter-revolution is attacking bourgeois mocracy in an effort to establish a most barbaric regime of exploitation nd suppression of the toiling masses. Now the toiling masses in a num-r of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a *finite choice*, and of making it today, not between proletarian dicta-rship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and scism.

Besides, we have now a situation which differs from that which isted, for example, in the epoch of capitalist stabilization. At that me the fascist danger was not as acute as it is today. At that time was bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy that e revolutionary workers were facing in a number of countries and was against bourgeois democracy that they were concentrating their e. In Germany, they fought against the Weimar Republic, not because was a republic, but because it was a *bourgeois* republic, which was sup-essing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, especially in 18-20 and in 1923.

But could the Communists maintain this stand also when the scist movement began to raise its head, when, for instance, in 1932, e fascists in Germany were organizing and arming hundreds of thou-nds of storm troopers against the working class? Of course not. was the mistake of the Communists in a number of countries, par-ularly in Germany, that they failed to take into account the changes ich had taken place, but continued to repeat those slogans, maintain ose tactical positions which had been correct a few years before, espe-ally when the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship was an imme-ate issue, and when the entire German counter-revolution was rally-g under the banner of the Weimar Republic, as it did in 1918-20.

And the circumstance that even today we must still make reference fear, in our ranks, of launching positive democratic slogans indicates w little our comrades have mastered the Marxist-Leninist method of proaching such important problems of our tactics. Some say that the ruggle for democratic rights may divert the workers from the struggle r the proletarian dictatorship. It may not be amiss to recall what Lenin id on this question:

> "It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the Socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as Socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."*

These words should be firmly fixed in the memories of all our com-des, bearing in mind that the great revolutions in history have grown t of small movements for the defense of the elementary rights of the rking class. But in order to be able to link up the struggle for demo-atic rights with the struggle of the working class for Socialism, it is

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 268, International Publishers, New York.

necessary first and foremost to discard any cut-and-dried approach to the question of bourgeois democracy. (*Applause.*)

A CORRECT LINE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH

Comrades, it is clear, of course, that for the Communist International and each of its Sections the fundamental thing is to work out a correct line. But a correct line alone is not enough for concrete leadership in the class struggle.

For that, a number of conditions must be fulfilled, above all the following:

First, organizational guarantees that adopted decisions will be carried out in practice and that all obstacles in the way will be resolutely overcome. What Comrade Stalin said at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union about the conditions necessary to carry out the line of the Party, can and should bear, in its entirety, also on the decisions which our Congress adopts.

Comrade Stalin said:

> "Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct Party line, proclaim it from the housetops, enunciate it in the form of general theses and resolutions and carry them unanimously in order to make victory come of itself, automatically, so to speak. This, of course, is wrong. Those who think like that are greatly mistaken. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and office rats can think that. . . . Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, *i.e.*, whether it is fulfilled or not."*

It is hardly necessary to add anything to these striking words of Comrade Stalin, which must become a guiding principle in all the work of our Parties.

Another condition is the *ability to convert decisions of the Communist International and its Sections into decisions of the broad masses themselves.* This is all the more necessary now, when we are faced with the task of organizing a united front of the proletariat and drawing the broad masses of the people into an anti-fascist people's front. The political and tactical genius of *Lenin* and *Stalin* is evinced most clearly and most vividly in their masterful ability to get the masses to under-

* Stalin, "Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", see *Socialism Victorious*, pp. 78-79, International Publishers, New York.

and the correct line and the slogans of the Party through their own perience. If we follow up the history of Bolshevism, that greatest of easure houses of the political strategy and tactics of the revolutionary bor movement, we can see for ourselves that the Bolsheviks never sub-ituted methods of leading the Party for methods of leading the masses.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that one of the peculiarities of the tac-s of the Russian Bolsheviks in the period of preparation for the tober Revolution consisted in their ability to determine correctly the th and the turns which naturally lead the masses to the slogans of e Party, to the very "threshold of the revolution", helping them to nse, to test and to realize from their own experience the correctness these slogans. They did not confuse leadership of the Party with dership of the masses, but clearly saw the difference between leader-ip of the first kind and leadership of the second kind. In this way they rked out tactics as the science, not only of Party leadership, but also the leadership of the millions of toilers.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the *broad masses can-t assimilate our decisions unless we learn to speak the language hich the masses understand.* We do not always know how to speak nply, concretely, in images which are familiar and intelligible to the asses. We are still loath to dispense with abstract formulas which have learnt by rote. As a matter of fact, if you scan our leaflets, wspapers, resolutions and theses, you will find that they are often itten in a language and style so heavy that they are difficult for even r Party functionaries to understand, let alone the rank and file rkers.

If we reflect, comrades, that workers, especially in fascist coun-es, who distribute or only read these leaflets risk their very lives by ing so, we shall realize still more clearly the need of writing for masses in a language which they understand, so that the sacrifices ade may not have been in vain.

The same applies in no less degree to our oral agitation and propa-nda. We must admit quite frankly that in this respect the fascists ve often proven more dexterous and flexible than many of our com-des.

I recall, for example, a meeting of unemployed in Berlin before tler's accession to power. It was at the time of the trial of those torious swindlers and speculators, the Sklarek brothers, which dragged for several months. A National-Socialist speaker in addressing the eting made demagogic use of that trial to further his own ends. He ferred to the swindles, the bribery and other crimes committed by the larek brothers, emphasized that the trial had been dragging for nths, and figured out how many hundreds of thousands of marks it d already cost the German people. To the accompaniment of loud plause the speaker declared that such bandits as the Sklarek brothers uld have been shot without any ado, and the money wasted on the al should have gone to the unemployed.

A Communist rose and asked for the floor. The chairman at first used to recognize him, but under the pressure of the audience which

wanted to hear from the Communists he had to let him speak. When the Communist got up on the platform, everybody awaited with tense expectation what the Communist speaker would have to say. Well, what did he say?

"Comrades," he began in a loud and strong voice, "the Plenum of the Communist International has just closed. It showed the way to the salvation of the working class. The chief task it puts before you, comrades, is '*to win the majority of the working class*' . . . (*Laughter*). The Plenum pointed out that the unemployed movement must be 'politicalized'. (*Laughter.*) The Plenum calls on us to raise it *to a higher level.*" (*Laughter.*)

He went on in the same strain, evidently under the impression that he was "explaining" authentic decisions of the Plenum.

Could such a speech appeal to the unemployed? Could they find any satisfaction in the fact that first we intended to politicalize, then revolutionize, and finally mobilize them in order to raise their movement to a higher level? (*Laughter, applause.*)

Sitting in a corner of the hall, I observed with chagrin how the unemployed, who had been so eager to hear a Communist in order to find out from him what to do concretely, began to yawn and display unmistakable signs of disappointment. And I was not at all surprised when towards the end the chairman rudely cut our speaker short without any protest from the meeting.

This unfortunately is not the only case of its kind in our agitational work. Nor were such cases confined to Germany. To agitate in such fashion means to agitate against one's own cause. It is high time to put an end once and for all to these, to say the least, childish methods of agitation.

During my report, the chairman, Comrade Kuusinen, received a characteristic letter from the floor of the Congress addressed to me. Let me read it:

> "In your speech at the Congress, please take up the following question, namely, that in the future all resolutions and decisions adopted by the Communist International be written so that not only trained Communists can get the meaning, but that any workingman reading the material of the Comintern might without any preliminary training be able to see at once what the Communists want, and of what service Communism is to mankind. Some Party leaders forget this. They must be reminded of it, and very strongly, too. Also that agitation for Communism be conducted in plain language."

I do not know exactly who the author of this letter is, but I have no doubt that this comrade voiced in his letter the opinion and desire of millions of workers. Many of our comrades think that the more high-sounding words, and the more formulas and theses unintelligible to the masses they use, the better their agitation and propaganda, forgetting that the greatest leaders and theoreticians of the working class of our

poch, *Lenin* and *Stalin*, have always spoken and written in highly popular language, readily understood by the broad masses.

Everyone of us must make this a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule:

When writing or speaking always have in mind the rank and file worker, who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you! You must have in mind those for whom you write, whom you speak. (*Applause.*)

CADRES

Comrades, our best resolutions will remain scraps of paper if we ck the people who are to put them into effect. Unfortunately, however, must state that the problem of *cadres*, one of the most important questons that confront us, received practically no attention at this Congress. he report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International as discussed for seven days, there were many speakers from various untries, but only a few, and they only in passing, discussed this question, so extremely vital for the Communist Parties and the labor movement. In their practical work our Parties have not yet realized by far at *peoples, cadres, decide everything.* They are unable to do what omrade Stalin taught us to do, namely, cultivate cadres "as a gardener ltivates his favorite fruit tree", "to appreciate people, to appreciate dres, to appreciate every worker, who can be of use to our common use".

An indifferent attitude on the question of cadres is all the more permissible for the reason that we are constantly losing some of the ost valuable of our cadres in the struggle. For we are not a learned ciety but a militant movement which is constantly on the firing line. ur most energetic, most courageous and most class conscious elements e in the front ranks. It is precisely these front-line men that the enemy nts down, murders, throws into jail, puts in concentration camps and bjects to excruciating torture, particularly in fascist countries. This eates the very urgent necessity of constantly replenishing the ranks, ltivating and training new cadres as well as carefully preserving the isting cadres.

[Comrade Dimitroff further stressed the point that the question of dres becomes particularly sharp in connection with the fact that new dres are coming to us who are frequently members and activists of cial-Democratic Parties. These new cadres require special attention.]

The problem of what shall be the *correct policy with regard to cadres* a most vital one for our Parties, as well as for the Young Communist agues and for all other mass organizations—for the entire revolunary labor movement.

What does a correct policy with regard to cadres imply?

First, *knowing one's people.* As a rule there is no systematic study cadres in our Parties. The experience of these Parties has shown at as soon as they began to study their people, Party workers were scovered who had remained unnoticed before. On the other hand, the

Parties began to be purged of alien elements who were ideologically and politically harmful.

Second, *proper promotion of cadres.* Promotion should not be something casual but one of the normal functions of the Party. It is bad when promotion is made exclusively on the basis of narrow Party considerations, without regard to whether the Communist promoted has contact with the masses or not. Promotion should take place on the basis of the suitability of the Party worker to discharge particular Party functions, and of his popularity among the masses. We have examples in our Parties of promotions which have produced excellent results.

But in the majority of cases promotions are made in an unorganized and haphazard manner, and therefore are not always fortunate. Sometimes moralizers, phrase-mongers and chatterboxes, who actually harm the cause, are promoted to leading positions.

Third, *the ability to use people to best advantage.* We must be able to ascertain and utilize the valuable qualities of every single active worker. There are no ideal people; we must take them as they are and correct their weaknesses and shortcomings. We know of glaring examples in our Parties of the wrong utilization of good, honest Communists who might have been very useful had they been given work that they were better fit to do.

Fourth, *proper distribution of cadres.* First of all, we must see to it that the main links of the movement are in the charge of strong people who have contacts with the masses, have sprung from the very depths of the masses, who have initiative and are staunch. The more important districts should have an appropriate number of such activists. In capitalist countries it is not an easy matter to transfer cadres from one place to another. Such a task encounters a number of obstacles and difficulties, including lack of funds, family considerations, etc., difficulties which must be taken into account and properly overcome. But usually we neglect to do this altogether.

Fifth, *systematic assistance to cadres.* This assistance should take the form of careful instruction, comradely control, rectification of shortcomings and mistakes and concrete, everyday guidance.

Sixth, *proper care for the preservation of cadres.* We must learn promptly to withdraw Party workers to the rear whenever circumstances so require, and replace them by others. We must demand that the Party leadership, particularly in countries where the Parties are illegal, assume paramount responsibility for the preservation of cadres. (*Applause.*) The proper preservation of cadres also presupposes highly efficient organization of secrecy in the Party. In certain of our Parties many comrades think that the Parties are sufficiently prepared for underground existence even though they have reorganized themselves only formally, according to ready-made rules. We had to pay very dearly for having started the real work of reorganization only after the Party had gone underground, under the direct heavy blows of the enemy.

What should be our *main criteria* in selecting cadres?

First, *absolute devotion* to the cause of the working class, *loyalty to the Party*, tested in face of the enemy—in battle, in prison, in court.

Second, the closest possible *contact with the masses.* The comrades cerned must be wholly absorbed in the interests of the masses, feel life pulse of the masses, know their sentiments and requirements. e prestige of the leaders of our Party organization should be based, t of all, on the fact that the masses regard them as their leaders, l are convinced through their own experience of their ability as ders, and of their determination and self-sacrifice in struggle.

Third, *ability independently to find one's bearings* and not to be aid of *assuming responsibility in taking decisions.* He who fears to e responsibility is not a leader. He who is unable to display initiative, o says: "I will do only what I am told", is not a Bolshevik. Only is a real Bolshevik leader who does not lose his head at moments of eat, who does not get a swelled head at moments of success, who dis- ys indomitable firmness in carrying out decisions. Cadres develop and w best when they are placed in the position of having to solve con- te problems of the struggle independently, and are aware that they fully responsible for their decisions.

Fourth, *discipline and Bolshevik hardening* in the struggle against class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all devia- ns from the Bolshevik line.

We must place all the more emphasis on these conditions which ermine the correct selections of cadres, because in practice preference very often given to a comrade who, for example, may be able to write l and be a good speaker but is not a man or woman of action, is not suited for the struggle as some other comrade who perhaps may be able to write or speak as well, but is a staunch comrade, possess- initiative and contacts with the masses, and is capable of going into tle and leading others into battle. (*Applause.*) Have there not been r so many cases of sectarians, doctrinaires or moralizers crowding loyal mass workers, genuine working class leaders?

Our leading cadres should combine the knowledge of *what* they st do—with *Bolshevik stamina, revolutionary strength of character l the will power to carry it through.*

[In connection with the question of cadres, Comrade Dimitroff fur- r dealt with the enormous role of the International Labor Defense. e role of the I.L.D. at present is growing tremendously. "The I.L.D. now faced with the task of becoming a genuine mass organization of ers in all capitalist countries (particularly in fascist countries, in ordance with the special conditions of these countries). It must be- ne, so to speak, a kind of 'Red Cross' of the united front of the prole- iat and the anti-fascist people's front embracing millions of toilers, 'Red Cross' of the army of the toiling classes fighting against fas- m, for peace and Socialism."

"And here", Comrade Dimitroff emphasized, "it must be stated nitely and sharply that if *bureaucracy,* and a heartless attitude to ple in the working class movement is disgusting in general, then in sphere of activity of the I.L.D. it borders on *crime.*"]

Comrades, as you know, cadres receive their best training *in the cess of struggle,* in surmounting difficulties and withstanding tests, in

studying *favorable* and *unfavorable* examples of conduct. We have hundreds of examples of splendid conduct in times of strikes, during demonstrations, in jail, in court. We have thousands of instances of heroism, but unfortunately also not a few cases of pigeon-heartedness, lack of firmness and even desertion. We often forget these examples, both good and bad. We do not teach people to benefit by these examples. We do not show them what should be emulated and what rejected. We must study the conduct of our comrades and active workers during class conflicts, at police court hearings, in the jails and concentration camps, in court, etc. The good sides should be brought to light and held up as models to be followed, while all that which is rotten, non-Bolshevik and philistine is to be cast aside. Since the Leipzig trial we have had quite a number of comrades appearing before bourgeois and fascist courts, who have shown that numerous cadres are growing up with an excellent understanding of *what* really constitutes Bolshevik conduct in court.

Such worthy examples of proletarian heroism must be popularized, must be contrasted with the manifestations of faintheartedness, philistinism, and every kind of rot and frailty in our ranks and the ranks of the working class. These examples must be used most extensively in educating the cadres of the labor movement.

Comrades, our Party leaders often complain that *there are no people;* that they are short of people for agitational and propaganda work, for the newspapers, the trade unions, for work among the youth, among women. Not enough, not enough—that is the cry—we simply haven't got the people. To this we could reply in the old yet eternally new words of Lenin:

> *"There are no people—yet there are enormous numbers of people.* There are enormous numbers of people, because the working class and the most diverse strata of society, year after year, advance from their ranks an increasing number of discontented people who desire to protest. . . . At the same time we have no people because . . . we have no talented organizers capable of organizing extensive and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would give employment to all forces, even the most inconsiderable."*

These words of Lenin must be thoroughly grasped by our Parties and applied by them as a guide in their everyday work. There are plenty of people. They need only be discovered in our own organizations, during strikes and demonstrations, in various mass organizations of the workers, in united front bodies. They must be helped to grow in the course of their work and struggle; they must be put in such conditions where they can really be useful to the workers' cause.

Comrades, we Communists are people of action. Ours is the problem of practical struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It is precisely this *practical* task that imposes upon the Communist cadres the obligation to equip themselves with *revolutionary*

* Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?", *Selected Works,* Vol. II, p. 142, International Publishers, New York.

ory. For, as *Stalin,* that great master of revolutionary action, has ght us, theory gives those engaged in practical work the power of ntation, clarity of vision, assurance in work, belief in the triumph of cause.

But real revolutionary theory is irreconcilably hostile to any emas- ated theorizing, any futile toying with abstract definitions. *Our theory ot a dogma, but a guide to action,* Lenin used to say. It is *such* a ory that our cadres need, and they need it as badly as they need their y bread, as they need air, water.

Whoever really wishes to rid our work of deadening, stereotyped emes, of pernicious scholasticism, must sear them out with a red-hot n, both by real, *practical,* active struggle waged together with and the head of the masses, and by *untiring effort* to grasp the mighty, ile, all powerful Bolshevik theory, the teaching of Marx, Engels, in, Stalin. (*Applause.*)

In this connection I consider it particularly necessary to draw your ntion to the work of our *Party schools.* It is not pedants, moralizers adepts at quoting that our schools must train. No! It is practical nt-rank fighters in the cause of the working class that must leave ir walls—people who are front-rank fighters not only because of their dness and readiness for self-sacrifice, but also because they see fur- r than rank-and-file workers and know better than they the path t leads to the emancipation of the toilers. All sections of the Com- nist International must without any dilly-dallying seriously take up question of the proper organization of Party schools, in order to n them into *smithies* where these fighting cadres are to be forged.

[Comrade Dimitroff further emphasized with great force the point t the aim of the Party schools is not tc train people abstractly and oretically, but to train people who, after mastering the basic prin- les of Marxism-Leninism, could become *independent practical organ- rs, leaders, capable of leading the masses to the struggle against the ss enemy.*

Comrades, never has any international congress of Communists used such keen interest on the part of world public opinion as we ness now in regard to our present Congress. We may say without fear exaggeration that there is not a single serious newspaper, not a single itical party, not a single more or less serious political or public per- age that is not following the course of our Congress with the closest ention.

The eyes of millions of workers, peasants, petty townsfolk, office rkers and intellectuals, of colonial peoples and oppressed national- es are turned toward Moscow, the great capital of the *first* but not t state of the international proletariat. (*Applause.*) In this we see a nfirmation of the enormous importance and urgency of the questions cussed at the Congress and of its decisions. The frenzied howls of the scists of all countries, particularly of German fascism foaming at the uth, only confirm us in our belief that our decisions have indeed hit e mark. (*Applause.*)

In the dark night of bourgeois reaction and fascism, in which the

class enemy is endeavoring to keep the toiling masses of the capitalist countries, the Communist International, the International Party of the Bolsheviks, stands out like a beacon, showing all mankind the one right way to emancipation from the yoke of capitalism, from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.

The establishment of unity of action of the working class is a *decisive* stage on that road. Yes, unity of action by the organizations of the working class of every trend, the consolidation of its forces in all spheres of its activity and at all sectors of the class struggle.

The working class must achieve the *unity of its trade unions*. In vain do some reformist trade union leaders attempt to frighten the workers with the spectre of a trade union democracy destroyed by the interference of the Communist Parties in the affairs of the united trade unions, by the existence of Communist fractions within the trade unions.

To depict us Communists as opponents of trade union democracy is sheer nonsense. We advocate and consistently uphold the right of the trade unions to decide their problems for themselves. We are even prepared to forego the idea of creating Communist fractions in the trade unions if that is necessary to promote trade union unity. We are prepared to come to terms as to the independence of the united trade unions of all political parties. But we are decidedly opposed to any *dependence* of the trade unions on the bourgeoisie, and do not give up our basic point of view that it is impermissible for trade unions to adopt a neutral position in regard to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The working class must strive to secure the *amalgamation* of forces of the working class youth and of all organizations of the anti-fascist youth, and win over that section of the toiling youth which has come under the demoralizing influence of fascism and other enemies of all the people.

The working class must and will achieve unity of action in all spheres of the labor movement. This will come about the sooner, the more firmly and resolutely we Communists and revolutionary workers of all capitalist countries apply in practice the new tactical line adopted by our Congress in relation to the most important urgent questions of the international labor movement.

We know that there are many difficulties ahead. Our path is not a smooth, asphalt road; our path is not strewn with roses. The working class will have to overcome many an obstacle, obstacles in its own midst, as well; it still faces the task above all of rendering completely harmless the disruptive role of the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy. Many are the sacrifices that will be exacted under the hammer blows of bourgeois reaction and fascism. The revolutionary ship of the proletariat will have to navigate among a multitude of submerged rocks before reaching safe port.

But the working class in the capitalist countries is today no longer what it was in 1914, at the beginning of the imperialist war, or what it was in 1918, at the end of the war. The working class has behind it 20 years of rich experience and revolutionary trials, bitter lessons of a

mber of defeats, especially in Germany, Austria and Spain.

The working class has before it the inspiring example of the iet Union, the country of Socialism victorious, an example of how class enemy can be defeated, how it can establish its own government build socialist society.

The bourgeoisie no longer holds *undivided* dominion over the whole anse of the world. Now the *victorious working class* rules over one-lh of the globe, and Soviets control a vast stretch of territory in the at land of China.

The working class possesses a firm, well-knit revolutionary vanguard, Communist International. It has a tried and recognized, a great wise leader—*Stalin.* (*Storm of applause, all rise. Cheers and uts of greeting from all delegations.*)

The entire course of historical development, comrades, favors the se of the working class. In vain are the efforts of the reactionaries, fascists of every hue, the entire world bourgeoisie, to turn back the el of history. No, that wheel is turning forward and will continue urn forward until a world-wide Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ll have been established, until the final victory of Socialism through-the whole world. (*Loud, prolonged applause.*)

There is but one thing that the working class of the capitalist coun-s still lacks—unity in its own ranks.

So let the clarion call of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the le cry of the Communist International, ring out all the more loudly m this platform to the whole world:

Workers of the World, Unite!

(*Loud prolonged applause. The vast hall resounds to shouts of urrah!" "Red Front!" "Banzai!" All rise and sing the "Interna-ale". The German delegation offers a triple "Red Front". Shouts "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Dimitroff!" heard in many languages. The delegations of the various countries turn sing their songs of struggle. When the singing and cheering side for a moment, Comrade Manuilsky exclaims:*

"Long live the faithful and tested companion-at-arms of the great lin; long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Com-e Dimitroff!"

Renewed enthusiastic applause and cheering, culminating in an ova-n lasting 15 to 20 minutes.)

The Communist International and the Fight for Peace *

By M. ERCOLI

COMRADE LENIN repeatedly warned us by consistently drawing our attention and the attention of all workers to the difficulties of the struggle against war. There is no such thing as "war in general", but there are concrete wars, the nature of which follows from the nature of the historical period in which they take place and the class relations obtaining in the world as a whole and in the warring countries in particular.

The following conclusions must be drawn from this analysis of the mutual relations of the big imperialist powers:

1. The contrast between the capitalist world and the world of socialism continues to be the deepest contradiction of the present historical period;

2. This contradiction is expressed today especially sharply by the fact that the imperialists of two of the greatest countries, Germany and Japan, are openly calling for war against the Soviet Union, are trying to create a bloc of a number of reactionary and fascist states to prepare and wage this war, and are supported and encouraged in these efforts by the most reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie of the greatest imperialist power, Great Britain;

3. The policy of aggression of German fascism and Japanese militarism leads inevitably to a new accentuation of all international antagonisms, but at the same time to a differentiation in the policy of the great imperialist powers, some of which are interested in the defense of the *status quo* and in a temporary and conditional defense of peace.

It follows from this, comrades, that the international situation is particularly tense and acute, that war can break out at any moment and at any place, and that any war will inevitably become a world war. It likewise follows from all this that the antagonisms between the big imperialist powers are developing in such a way that at a given moment, under given conditions, they may to a certain extent form an obstacle to the creation of a new bloc of the powers for war against the Soviet Union.

At the base of our revolutionary strategy and consequently of our concrete struggle against war we put the concentration of forces on the Japanese militarists at its Eastern frontiers and who are striving to destroy the conquests of the Chinese revolution. We concentrate our fire against German fascism—the chief instigator of war in Europe. We endeavor to utilize all differences existing in the position of the various imperialist powers. We must utilize them skilfully in the in-

* From the Report made to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

sts of the defense of peace, not forgetting for a moment the necessity elivering a blow against the enemy in our own countries, against "own" imperialism. (*Applause.*)

By the example of Italy we clearly see that the fascist regime is itably drawn into war in virtue of its policy and in virtue of the radictions of this policy.

The impossibility of erecting barriers to separate the different points friction between the big imperialist powers, the impossibility of lizing any conflict breaking out between them is plainly shown by example of Abyssinia. *Peace is indivisible.*

The attack of fascist Italy on Abyssinia will inevitably result in ew sharpening of the antagonisms and open struggle between the erialist world and the colonial peoples!

The war of Italy in Lybia was conducted from start to finish as a of extermination of the native population. It ended in the massacre 20,000 natives—men, women and children—who had been driven by ed force into the most arid part of the country, where they died m hunger and thrist and were exposed to machine gun fire from lanes.

A war of fascism against the last three native states of Africa produce reaction and indignation in all black Africa, in all the Arab ntries and in Mohammedan India. The first symptoms of this in- nation are already visible.

* * *

In face of the frightful reality of the capitalist world which is hing into war, millions and millions of men, women, youth, and diers ask with anxiety: "Is our fate irrevocably fixed? Is it not pos- e to prevent this terrible scourge which threatens us?"

We Communists, the vanguard of the working class, can reply to s question. We know that war is an inevitable accompaniment of capitalist regime. Capitalist society, which is based on the ex- itation of man by man and the hunt for profit, cannot avoid giving e to war. But we know equally well that all questions of the develop- nt of human society are decided in the final analysis by struggle— the struggle of the masses. We launch our appeal to the great sses who do not war war:

"Let us unite our forces. Let us fight together for peace. Let us organize the united front of all who want to defend and preserve peace."

Even at the gravest moments, the struggle for peace is not a hope- s one. It is not hopeless because, in struggling for peace, we support rselves now on the strength of the working class which has the power its hands in the U.S.S.R. Note what the Soviet Union has achieved. ar has already menaced its frontiers for years. But by fighting naciously for peace, by sacrificing all that it was possible to sacrifice r the cause of peace, by relying on its powerful strength, it has been le to avoid war up to the present. If the Soviet Union had not isted, the breathing space between the two cycles of wars would not

have been so long. The peoples would long ago have been thrown into a new slaughter. Our struggle for peace in which we rely on the strength of the Soviet Union has, therefore, every chance of being successful. Every month, every week which we gain is of enormous value for humanity. *Conscious of the deepest aspirations of the masses and the vital interests of all humanity, the Communist International puts itself at the head of the campaign for the defense of peace and the Soviet Union. The slogan of peace becomes our central slogan in the struggle against war.*

We defend peace, not because we are numbered among the flabby Tolstoyans, but because we are striving to ensure the conditions for the victory of the revolution. If war breaks out tomorrow we shall enter the struggle with the greatest determination and fight with all our forces, knowing that this struggle will be a life and death struggle between us and the bourgeoisie. We know that our forces are not negligible. But are they equal to the tremendous tasks confronting us today? The united front of the working class has up to now achieved notable successes only in a single big capitalist country. The question of re-establishing the political unity of the working class in a single revolutionary party is only now beginning to be raised. We are, however, still far from its solution.

By making the fight for peace the center of our activity, we give the lie in the most striking manner to all the various slanderers ranging from the bourgeoisie to the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, who have the effrontery to say that Communists are in favor of war, that they base their hopes on war, as if they think that only war will create a situation in which it will be possible to fight for the revolution, for the conquest of power.

In struggling for peace we are carrying out the best defense of the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt for anyone that the coming war, even if it were to begin as a war between two big imperialist powers or as a war of a big power against a small country, will inevitably tend to develop into and will inevitably become a war against the Soviet Union. Every year and every month of respite is a guarantee for us that the Soviet Union will be in a position to repulse more strongly the attack of the imperialists. Our struggle for peace is thus directly linked up with the peace policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The cause of peace and the cause of defending the Soviet Union become a single cause, and not a single worker will refuse to fight for it.

* * *

In the post-war period, Social-Democracy was in power in quite a number of countries. But is there a single Social-Democratic government that did one-hundredth part as much in the cause of peace as the Soviet Union has done? Is there a single Social-Democratic government which declared for the abrogation of all secret treaties concluded by the bourgeoisie for the preparation of war, which solemnly renounced so-called "historical" rights clashing with the interests of other countries or the interests of peace.

The Soviet government gives us an example of how the fight for peace t be concluded by its coolness and resoluteness in relation to all the vocations of the Japanese generals. Is there, has there ever been overnment that was able to do in the defense of peace what the Soviets when they proceeded to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway? The .S.R. has shown how one must act if one desires to avoid war. Only working class in power is able to pursue such a cool and, at the same e, bold policy of peace.

By its peace policy the Soviet Union has proved that only socialism ans peace. The Red Army is an army of peace because it is the ny of the working class.

On January 1, 1930, 31.2 per cent of the Red Army were workers. January 1, 1934, the percentage of workers had risen to 45.8 while the beginning of this year it was 49.3 per cent. But this percentage reases on passing from the mass of the membership of the Red Army its middle and upper commanding cadres. The contradiction which rs apart the bourgeois armies, where the mass of soldiers consist peasants and workers while the commanding cadres consist of repretatives of the most reactionary class and cliques, this contradiction unknown to the Red Army. Seventy-two per cent of the regimental mmanders are workers, 90 per cent of the divisional commanders and commanders of army corps consist of 100 per cent of working class ments. (*Applause.*) Is a more concrete proof necessary to show t the Red Army is an instrument of peace held in the firm hands of working class?

Since the peace policy of the Soviet Union presumes the considera- n by the proletarian state of the contradictions between the capitalist untries, its bounds are determined in their extent by the magnitude, ensity and nature of these contradictions, and its concrete forms can- t but change when the international situation changes as a whole.

The mutual aid pacts concluded by the Soviet Union are acts of a ious, positive political character, aiming at uniting all forces which is possible to attract at this moment to active defense of peace.

For us it is absolutely indisputable that there is a complete identity aim between the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the policy of the rking class and Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. There not, and cannot be, any doubt in our ranks on this subject. We not ly defend the Soviet Union in general, we defend concretely its whole licy and each of its actions.

Our comrades of the French Communist Party and of the Czechovakian Communist Party have understood that their policy must be termined by the same Marxist-Leninist method which demands that the ncrete circumstances be taken into account. For this reason, in address- g themselves to the bourgeoisie of their countries, they could and had say to them:

> "Gentlemen, you have signed a pact, a limited pact, with the working class of the Soviet Union that has the power in its hands, but you have not signed any pact with the working class

of our country, with us. We have no guarantee that you will not utilize your army, which continues to be a class army, against the working class of our country and against the colonial peoples, our allies in the struggle against imperialism. We have no guarantee at all that you will not continue to make the poor, and not the rich, pay the necessary expenses for the organization of your army. We have no control over the manner in which your class government and your reactionary and fascist General Staff will spend the money that you take from the poor in order to pay for the organization of the army. We have not even any guarantee that, when the decisive moment arrives, you will remain loyal to the pact that you are signing today.

"For all these reasons, gentlemen, we can neither vote your military budget nor give up the struggle against your government. But please note that this does not mean that we have no interest in the pact that you have concluded with the Soviet Union or that we are indifferent to the manner in which you give effect to it. We know that in your ranks there are those who are against this pact, that there exists a section of the bourgeoisie who would like to tear it up. We, indeed, will defend the pact with all our strength because it is an instrument in the struggle for peace and for the defense of the Soviet Union. We shall vote for the pact in Parliament and we shall expose any attempt to pursue a policy which is different from or in contradiction to the obligations ensuing from the pact."

Those who do not understand the profound inner consistency of this position adopted by our comrades in France and Czechoslovakia will never understand anything of the real dialectics of events and of revolutionary dialectics, even if they fancy themselves to be highly intelligent and logical persons, such as Leon Blum, for instance, fancies himself to be. But our revolutionary dialectics has been understood by the masses, as the comrades of the French Party and of the Czechoslovakian Party have reported to us, and that is quite good enough for us. (*Applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, in the fight for peace, against imperialist war and in defense of the Soviet Union, our immediate basic political task consists in creating the widest united front of the masses of workers and peasants, and petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals.

At the last plenary meeting of the Executive Committee of the Second International, a resolution on the struggle against war was adopted in which we find a statement concerning the necessity of concentrating fire against German National-Socialism and of defending the Soviet Union. This resolution, speaking of the attitude which should be taken up by the working class in case of war, refers to the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress.

We have the right to ask the Social-Democratic leaders: What value has the reference to the Stuttgart resolution which speaks of utilizing the crisis resulting from war for hastening the overthrow of the class rule of the capitalists, if nothing is done to carry out these directives? In order to carry out the directives of the Stuttgart resolution, it is

ntial already today to bring about the unity of action of the working
s in the struggle for peace.

If you continue to come out, as heretofore, against the united front,
ou hinder it being carried out, then the reference to the Stuttgart
sions cannot have any value and is not a guarantee of your position
ne future, just as the adoption of the Stuttgart resolution was not
arantee for the Second International against the collapse of August
914.

In the pacifist movement we also note a very interesting differen-
on. The feeling of horror for the war which the capitalists and
ists are preparing evokes opposition to the war on the pacifist grounds
ng more and more considerable sections.

Our place is at the side of these masses, explaining to them what
do not yet understand well, at the same time assisting them in
ting to achieve all that is fundamentally just and human in their
wings for peace. This is all the more necessary because we are
olutely sure of the path that the pacifist masses will take in the future.
hey establish connections with the working class and its vanguard,
may form a formidable barrier against war and the instigators of
. If the opposite is the case, the pacifist illusions which still domin-
these masses may impel them to a position which not only will fail
inder war but will be used by the instigators of a new imperialist
for their own ends.

Therefore, we must penetrate among the pacifist masses, and carry
the work of enlightenment among them, using forms of organiza-
and action which are adapted to the level of consciousness of these
sses and which give them the possibility of taking the first step in
effective struggle against war and capitalism. We must always
e two things into account. The first is that the organization of the
ifist masses cannot and must not be a Communist organization; the
nd is that in working in this organization Communists must never
e up explaining with the greatest patience and insistence their own
nt of view on all the problems of the struggle against war.

The struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, peasants
l toiling masses in general is our most effective means for exposing
chauvinist demagogy of fascism, of demonstrating the lying char-
er of the fables propagated by them: the lie about race, about "war
the interests of all", about the "state above classes", about the "pro-
arian nation which is struggling against capitalist nations", about the
cessity of conquering a place in the sun", etc.

In the course of the struggle for the real interests of the proletariat
d toiling masses against exploiters and oppressors, the workers and
e whole mass of toilers become educated in the spirit of proletarian
ernationalism. Hereby the weapon is being forged which in the final
alysis will give us the possibility of shattering chauvinist propaganda.
t for this to be a really sharp weapon we must undertake the defense
t only of the immediate economic interests of the masses, but also of
eir political demands and aspirations. We must know how to interpret
their interests, we must show that it is precisely the working class

and its vanguard that has the task of solving all the problems concerning every section of the toilers in the given country.

Our comrades do not always understand that in order to succeed in reaching the masses of women who are still not under our influence just as to succeed in reaching the pacifist masses in general, we must take account of the nature of the organization to which they belong.

We must by no means endeavor to destroy this organization; on the contrary, we must discover how to collaborate with this movement in the most varied forms in order to penetrate into its ranks. In some cases, our comrades, instead of understanding and pursuing this correct organizational and political line, replaced broad mass work in the existing organizations by the creation of a narrow and sectarian Communist women's organization. This renders more difficult the creation of a real mass movement of women on behalf of peace and against war.

Among the youth the bourgeoisie is pushing the preparation for war with particular vigor. It is above all the youth that fascism fascinates by chauvinist and war propaganda. On the other hand, in practically every country the youth have already been seized by the monstrous war machine as a result of measures for militarization.

These measures are today common to all fascist countries; but they also extend to the democratic countries in a more or less open form.

These widespread activities of the bourgeoisie in regard to the militarization of the youth must be countered by us with the aid of equally widespread activity aiming at wresting the younger generation from the influence of the bourgeoisie and fascism.

In spite of progress in this direction achieved very recently, it must nevertheless be admitted, comrades, that such actions on our part are either still not being conducted at all or are being conducted to an insufficient degree.

We have contented ourselves with saying, and it is absolutely correct in itself, that the class-consciousness of the masses cannot be lulled and the class struggle cannot be screened for long. This, of course, is true. The experience that the younger generation is gaining in the factories and the experience it will gain during a war will inevitably lead to the destruction of the influence of the bourgeoisie and of fascism among the youth. But we cannot and must not wait. We must prevent the youth enrolled in the mass fascist organizations from undergoing the tragic experience that our generation underwent in the World War. We want to have the youth already fighting side by side with us for peace. We must therefore direct and accelerate the process of destroying the influence of the bourgeoisie among the youth. We must find a way to the younger generation, we must understand their mood and what is in their minds. And if, in order to find the way to this new generation it is necessary to speak a new language, to cast aside empty formulas, to do away with the old schemes, to change our methods of work and to change the forms of our organization—very well, we shall do so without any hesitation.

We must not be afraid; we should go wherever the younger generation is to be found. This means that the forms of organization of the

ant united front of the youth in the fight for peace and against must be extremely flexible, differing in accordance with country and umstance. In the bourgeois-democratic countries we must follow example set up by our French comrades, who have at last been able nd the way to the youth. We can only welcome and support with our strength such steps as the calling of the Students' Congress and recent widespread activity of the World Youth Congress for struggle inst war and fascism. In participating in these movements we must able to play a leading part not by advertising the fact, but by win- the confidence of the youth who will see in us the most ardent mpions of their vital interests, the most convinced defenders of all r aspirations.

In the fascist countries, it is absolutely essential to bridge the abyss in some cases already exists, or which is in process of being created, ween the old generation of revolutionary workers and Communists and younger generation of toilers.

There is only one method of bridging the gap between the old and ng generations, namely, to penetrate the fascist organizations, to k within these organizations, to organize a united front and establish nuclei within the fascist organizations themselves in the forms de- nded by the situation. We must go so far as to transform whole tions of fascist youth organizations into points of support of our i-war work.

* * *

The fascization of the army finds expression in a number of meas- s, especially in the organization of a special propaganda in the army lf.

In carrying its propaganda into the army, fascism is trying to vert the army into a point of support for its policy. At the same e, in each of the armies the bourgeoisie increases the number of those ments which it regards as particularly reliable by reason of preferen- l treatment they receive, or in consequence of their constant connec- n with military organizations (the professional army).

In the countries of bourgeois-democracy, we must expose this fas- ation of the army as one of the most dangerous forms of concrete eparation for war. As a counter to this fascization, we must, in our nsistent and thoroughgoing struggle for peace, develop our anti-fascist rk in the army. We shall not surrender the mass of the soldiers to e fascists. All penetration of fascism into the army is a menace to ace. Every effective measure against such penetration assists the fense of peace.

The fascists are instilling their anti-proletarian, militarist and auvinist policy into the army. This is the more justification for the orking class in the countries of bourgeois-democracy to demand that e army should be democratized by granting the soldiers all political ghts. We demand that every soldier should have the right fully to s opinion regarding the war propaganda that is being conducted in e army by the fascists, that he should have the possibility both inside nd outside the army of expressing his desire for peace. We demand

that all political rights should be granted to the soldiers because we are certain that an unfettered expression of the desire of the soldiers can hinder the war plans of the bourgeoisie and fascism.

For the same reason we demand that the fascist officers should be driven out of the army and that the reactionary general staffs should be subjected to democratic control, in the exercise of which workers' organizations should participate.

We put forward these demands in order in every possible way to hinder the advance of fascism where it is not yet in power. The very development of our policy of the united front and people's front demands it.

It is impossible to speak seriously of the formation of a government of the united front and people's front in order to bar the way to fascism without at the same time raising the question of transforming the present bourgeois army into a people's army, organized on the basis of closest connection with the people, a reduction of length of service, measures for placing all arms at the disposal of the people and eliminating once for all the reactionary cadres from the army, especially from the higher commanding position. By all these measures we only desire to destroy one of the supports of fascism and to restrain its war preparations.

Our principal task, therefore, is to link the army with the people. Hence we shall fight in defense of all partial demands of the soldiers—those demands which have been the starting point of all movements that have taken place in recent times among the masses of soldiers in bourgeois armies.

In fascist countries, every effort must be made to utilize the slightest opportunities for legal and semi-legal activity, linking the people, and especially the working class, with the mass of the soldiers. We must penetrate into and work within all mass organizations which serve for the militarization of the youth.

In this connection, the theses of the Sixth Congress, which state that Communists must not call upon workers to join voluntary organizations for military training, must be interpreted in a broad fashion. In the present circumstances, it would be a mistake not to join such organizations in all countries in which they have assumed a mass character. We must enter these organizations. We must work in them.

A similar policy in general must be given regarding the organization of defense against air attack, correcting the mistake of some Communist Parties, which adopted decisions for boycotting defense against air attack. We must regard the gas mask as a weapon of war like any other which the workers must learn to make use of, and in this sphere we should put forward a number of immediate demands for the masses. For instance, we must demand that there should be no difference between the gas masks which the rich are able to buy and those within the reach of the workers' purchasing power. We must demand that the best gas masks should be distributed free of charge among the toiling population. We must protest against the fact that it is only in the houses of the wealthy that gas shelters are being built, and so on. We

t combine all our work in this direction with the propaganda and ggle against war and for peace.

This new way of regarding our work in the army, as mass work, a definite, positive content, aiming at the creation of a counter-nce to fascism in the army, is the best preparation for the prac-l application of the Bolshevik line at the moment when war breaks Communists at that moment must not call on the masses to boycott efuse military service, but must join the army and make it the center heir work.

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The difficulties which we encounter at present in our work will be a trifle compared with those which will confront us when we shall e to fight against the bourgeoisie under war conditions.

During the last century, approximately up to the 'nineties, when workers' movement was led directly by Marx and Engels, the work-class had to take up its position on the problem of war under con-ons when the bourgeoisie in a number of countries was still playing rogressive role connected with the development of the bourgeois-nocratic revolution. Marx and Engels took these conditions into ount in each separate case in determining their attitude to a par-ular war.

When the period of imperialism began, this progressive role of the rgeoisie disappeared, and the wars of the bourgeoisie changed their racter and became imperialist wars. Those who have not under-od this transformation have committed serious mistakes and crimes ards the working class.

The existence of the Soviet Union is a new factor of world-historical nificance which introduces radical modifications in the character of entire period of development through which we are passing. All tactics in case of war must be determined by taking this factor into sideration. Already, in the theses of the Sixth World Congress it s laid down that in case of war against the Soviet Union, the slogan fraternization must give place to the slogan of deserting to the side the Red Army. In the theses of the Sixth World Congress it is stated at in case of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union

> ". . . the tactics and choice of the means of struggle (of the proletariat) must be determined not only by the interests of the class struggle in their own country, but by the interests of the war at the front, which is a class war of the bourgeoisie against the proletarian state."

In the resolution which we are putting before the Seventh Congress, make these instructions still more precise by declaring that *in case a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, the Communists ust call on all the toilers to help by all means and at any cost to bring out the victory of the Red Army against the imperialist armies.*

I think that this line is sufficiently clear; it corresponds to the elings of millions of toilers. And if someone asks us what is the mean-

ing of this line and how we shall act in the various concrete cases of war that may possible arrive, we have only one reply to give—in each case we shall act as Marxists, as Bolsheviks; in other words, we shall begin by an exact appraisal of the concrete situation, of the character of the war which is about to be fought, of the relations of class forces at each given moment, of the extent of our forces and the forces of our adversaries, and on the basis of an exact estimate of the position we shall decide our immediate perspectives and the concrete forms of our work. We shall never lose sight of the fact that one of the chief qualities of a Bolshevik is that of being able to unite the greatest loyalty to principles with the greatest capacity of maneuvering and the greatest flexibility.

War will be a very complicated political matter, but at the same time it will be a very simple and concrete matter as far as concerns the conditions in which we shall have to work and fight. Enthusiasm alone will not avail. There will, perhaps, even be no written resolutions. There will be the factory and the trenches, where it will be necessary to decide without waverings the most difficult problems, because all wavering will cost us dear. It is therefore necessary from today for us to educate all our Parties, all organizations, all cadres, every Party member, in the spirit of maximum initiative and personal responsibility. This can only be attained as the result of the widest ideological preparation and the closest contact with the masses.

Today we are a great army which is fighting for peace. We cannot foresee and no one can foresee how long our struggle for peace can continue. It may be a year, it may be more, it may be only a few months. We must be ready at any moment.

Our Congress has traced out a Leninist line of action; this is already a first guarantee of victory. We have a great force, the Bolshevik Party. We have a leader, Comrade *Stalin* (*applause*), of whom we know that he has always, in the most difficult moments, found the line which has led to victory, Comrade Stalin, who, during the years of civil war, was sent by Lenin to all the fronts where victory seemed to be escaping the toilers of the U.S.S.R. And everywhere, from Paris to Tsaritsin, from Petrograd to the Southern front, Stalin re-established the position, defeated the enemy, and assured victory. (*Applause.*)

The world Party of the Bolsheviks and of Stalin is the guarantee of our victory on a world scale. Let us close our ranks, comrades, in the fight against imperialist war, for peace, for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live the triumph of the revolution and of socialism throughout the world! (*Prolonged, stormy applause. The delegates stand and greet Comrade Ercoli. The "Internationale" is sung. All the delegations shout their greetings. Cries of "hurrah!" A prolonged ovation.*)

he Results of Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R.*

By D. Z. MANUILSKY

the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International, a very great event took place in the lives of the ions—the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. (*plause.*) This is the second great victory of the international work- class over world capitalism since the great October Socialist Revolu-, and it ushers in a new era in the history of mankind.

Strengthening the stronghold of the world proletarian revolution nomically and politically, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. ms up a new phase in the development of our country: it marks an- er great change in the relation of forces in the world arena to the antage of socialism and to the disadvantage of capitalism, and it rks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world letarian revolution. Won by the workers and collective farmers of country under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., of its Leninist Central mmittee, and of our great Stalin, with the active support of the pro- riat of the whole world, it signifies the victory of the Communist ernational, which was born as a result of the October Revolution, the tory of its program, policy and tactics.

The significance of this victory of the Communist International is the greater and more edifying for the international working class the reason that in this period the world working class movement in a nber of capitalist countries (Germany, Austria and others) where Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions played the ding role in the movement, suffered defeats which were the defeats the reformist policy and of the capitulatory tactics of the Social- mocratic Parties, defeats of the Second International. The world torical significance of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., which been achieved in the period when an economic crisis unprecedented its acuteness and duration prevails in the capitalist countries, lies the fact that it throws a vivid light on the two paths of development the international proletarian movement—the path of the Communist ernational and the path of the Second International. The path of Communist International has led by way of the proletarian revolu- n to the victory of socialism in one-sixth of the territory of the globe d to the further strengthening of the position of the international letarian revolution to an enormous degree, while the path of the ond International, the path of reformism, is leading to defeats of the rkers and the victory of fascism. A comparison of these two results leading, and is bound to lead, to a revolution in the minds of the pro-

* Abridged stenogram of report delivered to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

letariat of all capitalist countries, and is causing a profound change and re-grouping in its ranks.

But the significance of the victory of socialism in our country is not confined to the changes in the world working class movement. It is far wider and more profound. As a result of its socialist successes our country is beginning to set the peoples in motion. The comparison of our past with our present is beginning to convince vast masses of people of the correctness of the path we have taken, of the correctness of Bolshevism and the path of the Communist International.

What was our country before the revolution?

We were the most exploited country, a country with the most disfranchised and downtrodden working class in Europe, with the most poverty stricken, wretched and dispossessed peasantry, afflicted with the disasters of famine. We were a country whose agriculture was the most backward and extensive, a country of chronic droughts and harvest failures, a country of the wooden plow, the mattock and the Volga boatmen. Ours was a country stricken by typhus and cholera epidemics, degeneration, alcoholism and frightful mortality, an uncultured, illiterate and superstitious country, a prey to the opium of religion and the obscurantism of the priests. In order to maintain their rotten rule, the ruling classes of our country artificially fostered national enmity, invented legends of ritual murder, organized pogroms against the Jews and massacres of Armenians and Tartars. Tsarism, like a blood-stained octopus, fastened its tentacles on the nations, rent whole nations to pieces and with ruthless brutality crushed the manifestations of national life of Ukrainians, White Russians, Georgians, Armenians, Turks, Uzbeks, Cossacks and others. A revolutionary movement was seething and growing in the country and acquired extraordinary strength when the proletariat, led by the Party of the Bolsheviks, assumed the lead of the tormented people. But the dull and incompetent rulers persecuted the revolutionary people and drove the country into an abyss. They declared that the backwardness and lack of culture of the country were the peculiarities of the Russian "national spirit"; and they boastfully threatened in the wars waged by tsarism, to "plant the cross on St. Sophia" and to knock the enemy "into a cocked hat". And the workers and peasants of our formerly unhappy country paid dearly for this ignorant boastfulness. Old Russia was beaten by everybody who wanted to.

> "She was beaten by the Mongol khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal barons. She was beaten by the Polish-Lithuanian 'squires'. She was beaten by the Anglo-French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her for her backwardness, for military backwardness, for cultural backwardness, for governmental backwardness, for industrial backwardness, for agricultural backwardness."*

Russia was beaten in the imperialist war of 1914-18. She emerged

* Stalin, "The Tasks of Business Managers", *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 423. International Publishers, New York.

n this war bleeding, maimed and bankrupt. But the imperialist
ers forced a new war on the revolutionary people, which had over-
wn not only tsarism, but also capitalism. Our country was torn to
es by the landlords and capitalists who had been driven out by the
lution. She was sold wholesale and retail. She was partitioned from
border regions—on the West, the South, the North and the East.
from this catastrophe to which the landlords, industrialists and
kers had brought our country, she was saved by the proletarian
olution. (*Applause.*) The revolution extricated her from the war,
ed her from political disintegration and economic destruction; it
ed her from the plunder of pirates who were stronger than tsarism;
mancipated her from economic slavery to foreign capital; it pro-
ed her from the world crisis, which has flung peoples and states into
abyss, and from the fascist reaction that is raising in the capitalist
ld. At a speed unprecedented in the history of humanity, it is de-
ping her productive forces and replacing the mattock, the wooden
w and the scythe with tractors and harvester combines; it is trans-
ming "the prisoners of starvation, the wretched of the earth" into
masters of their country and the creators of a new and magnificent
; it is steadily raising the standard of living of the masses; it is
lanting a new and advanced socialist culture; it is establishing fra-
nal collaboration between the peoples. It has erected a powerful
kers' state; it has created a new social and economic system, in which
new socialist man is being formed; and it has brought into being
t of which the finest minds of mankind have dreamed—socialism.

And it is not only our Party that today appears before the Seventh
igress of the Communist International with these achievements; it is
young socialist country, which, by the will of the Party of Lenin
d Stalin has been put to serve the interests of the world proletarian
olution (*loud applause*), that is reporting to the toilers of the whole
rld how it has fulfilled its international duty to them. (*Loud applause.*)
is reporting today to the billion and a half people who are oppressed
d enslaved by imperialism, how, led to its doom by capitalism, it was
surrected by socialism. By its example it is showing the path of sal-
tion to the exploited classes, to the colonies downtrodden by imperial-
n, to the oppressed nations, to the small states which are enslaved
onomically and politically, to the nations defeated in the imperialist
ars and to the millions who are being crushed in the vise of the crisis.
s experience serves as a call to them to put an end to the system which
s become a misfortune for the world and the curse of humanity.

And yet, only eighteen years separate us from our country's fright-
l past! What do these years signify when compared with the centuries
at were required to change economic systems and political forms in
e history of the development of mankind! But even of these eighteen
ars, ten years were required merely for the restoration of the pre-
ar level of production.

Lenin's question, "Who will win?" faced the Party and the whole
untry in all its immensity.

We had to choose between two paths of development, either *retreat*,

which would lead to capitalist restoration, or an *offensive* which led, and was bound to lead, to the victory of socialism.

Having trained, reared and educated our Party in the course of decades, Lenin and Stalin had prepared it for this decisive choice. Not long before this, the Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, had repelled the fierce attacks of Trotsky and the Zinoviev-Trotsky bloc against the Leninist-Stalinist thesis of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. (*Applause.*) In effect, the Party was obliged to suppress the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie, which did not desire and feared the development of the socialist revolution. In 1928 the Right opportunists, who were the mouthpiece of the kulak elements, started an attack against the Party. They opposed the rapid tempo of industrialization and insisted on our importing from abroad consumers' goods instead of machinery and machine tools for the new factories; they fought against the expansion of Soviet farm and collective farm construction and proposed that the Party should base itself entirely on individual peasant farming; they were opposed to the offensive against the capitalist elements and asserted that the kulaks would peacefully grow into socialism; and they tried to frighten the Party and the working class by declaring that without kulaks there would be no grain.

It was the genius of Stalin, the genius of the working class, that led the country.

And the Party made its choice, a choice which determined the destiny of the development of our country and the future of the world proletarian revolution.

The Party chose the path of a broad offensive *along the whole front* against the capitalist elements. This was the path of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy, the path of the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, the path of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the path of tearing out the roots of capitalism in the country.

The task was not an easy one.

The general line of the Party for a broad offensive along the whole front was concretely expressed in the Five-Year Plan by means of which the first country with a proletarian dictatorship laid the basis for the solution of a great strategical problem—to overtake and surpass the technically and economically advanced capitalist countries. (*Applause.*)

The U.S.S.R. is astounding the whole world by the speed of its socialist construction. The rate of increase in industrial output during the period of the First Five-Year Plan amounted on an average to 22 per cent per annum. In 1934 it amounted to 18.3 per cent and in 1935 (according to plan) it should amount to 17 per cent. Never in history has any capitalist country known such rates of development. In a period of four years we increased the output of pig iron from five million tons to ten million tons per annum, where the U.S.A. required fifteen years to traverse the same distance and Great Britain required thirty-six years. The proportion of the output of our machine-building industry to world output in 1928 was 4.2 per cent; in 1937 it will be 37.5 per cent. (*Applause.*) In 1928 we held fifth place in the world and fourth place in

rope in industrial output; we now occupy second place in the world er the U.S.A. (*applause*) and first place in Europe. Please note, rades, that I am referring not to present-day Europe, not to crisis rope, but to the Europe of 1929. (*Applause.*) In the output of all, pig n, steel, machinery and tractors we have taken first place among the ropean countries. (*Applause.*) We are beginning to develop our own chine-tool industry, the production of high-grade steels, motors, tur- es, and generators; we are developing our own chemical industry and own aviation industry; and we are mastering the production of the st complex machinery of various kinds. Our country is being covered h the scaffolding of construction projects; mountains are being re- ved, tunnels cut, railway embankments erected, canals dug, dams con- ucted, and factories built which are marvels of modern technique; industrial regions, new coal and metal centers are being created the national republics are being industrialized. And all this is being e at a time when in the capitalist countries industrial and commer- life is dying down, the smoke stacks of existing factories are ceasing belch forth smoke, blast furnaces are being blown out one after ther, the traffic in ports is coming to a standstill, a deathly silence is ing on many working class quarters, and millions of people are being demned to enforced idleness. In the U.S.S.R., however, a tremendous ve of popular enthusiasm is sweeping all obstacles from its path and nsforming the country. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, you are witnessing this transformation of the country. know that the U.S.S.R. has increased its industrial output threefold the last seven years, and that the socialist sector now embraces 96 cent of the whole economic life of our country. But what lies behind s tempo, behind the Dnieprostroys, the Magnitogorsks, the Turk-Sibs d the White Sea Canals; what lies behind the construction and the wth of those 40,000 enterprises of large scale industry and those ,000 enterprises of small scale industry, which our socialist country sesses today? The tremendous labor of our people, whom this great struction work has re-educated in a socialist way, remolded in a ss way and resurrected materially and culturally; labor, in the course which our Party, our workers' organizations, proletarian social life, converted raw, rustic material into enthusiastic shock workers, oes of labor, into concrete-layers who have beaten world records, and st furnace operators who have exceeded the highest co-efficient of ective utilization of furnaces.

Not all were able to hold out in this socialist offensive, which ipsed the campaigns of all times and of all peoples. All who were aid, egotistical, vile and rotten fell away; they complained, whimpered, read distrust, prophesied ruin and joined forces with world capital in rabid hatred of the victory of socialism. The abominable, disgusting d vile political degenerates of the Zinoviev and Trotsky bloc murdered r friend, the favorite of our Party, the organizer of the victories in ku, Leningrad and Khibin, Sergei Mironovich Kirov. (*The delegates e in honor of the memory of S. M. Kirov.*)

But the mighty avalanche started by the iron and inflexible will of

Stalin swept on in its course. It overwhelmed the last stronghold of capitalism in our country, by reconstructing agriculture on the basis of collectivization. In place of 25,000,000 individual peasant farms it created 250,000 collective farms, 5,000 Soviet farms, and over 4,000 machine and tractor stations, entailing an expense to the state of over 9,000,000,000 rubles. In place of the wooden plow and the winter-starved nag, there are now operating 300,000 tractors, about 50,000 harvester combines and 35,000 motor trucks. In respect of the use of tractors our agriculture occupies first place in the world. There is now twice as much land per collective farm household as there was per poor peasant or middle peasant household when they bore an individual character. (*Applause.*) In 1934 our collective farmers supplied 1,000,000,000 poods more grain for the market than when they constituted individual poor and middle peasant farms. The former situation when the rate of growth of our agriculture lagged behind that of industry is being eliminated. In the period from 1926 to 1929, the increase of agricultural production amounted on an average to 2.7 per cent per annum; in the two years of the Second Five-Year Plan it was 6.5 per cent, and in 1935 it should exceed 16 per cent. (*Applause.*) These successes are visible to millions of people, and you, comrades, perceive them all the more since you come from countries where the condition of the peasantry is desperate, where the indebtedness of the peasantry in Germany, for instance, amounts to 14,000,000,000 marks, where the indebtedness of the farmers in the United States, for instance, is equivalent to 42 per cent of the total value of their farms, where during the past few years, nearly half a million American farms have been sold under the hammer, where the debt of the Japanese peasant is more than five times as large as the gross yield of agriculture, which means that the Japanese peasant and his family must refrain from eating, drinking and clothing themselves for a period of five years in order to escape this servitude.

In the course of a severe class struggle, the toilers of the U.S.S.R. led by the Party of Lenin, which is headed by Comrade Stalin, have transformed the U.S.S.R. from a weak, backward, uncultured, agrarian country with five social and economic systems, from a country technically and economically dependent on the capitalist countries and militarily vulnerable, into a highly industrialized country which is capable of producing all modern complex machinery and is independent of the whims of foreign capital, into a country with an advanced collective agriculture and where the socialist system has undivided sway; into a country whose power of defense is ensured to the utmost. (*Applause.*)

Thereby we have created the indestructible foundation of socialism. And now, as a result of the *new technical basis* we have laid for our national economy and the social forms, the *socialist forms* we have created for it, we are opening for our country the broadest prospects for its continued socialist development.

* * *

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. created the conditions for such a growth of the material well-being of the masses and for such a

of their cultural level as no capitalist country in the world ever med of. Only now can we place *the care for the human being in the r of our thoughts and efforts in all its greatness.*

Is it possible to enumerate all our achievements? Huge volumes l not contain the full description of all that is being done in our of victorious socialism. But great as these achievements are, they ot satisfy us. We do not measure our strivings by the standards of workers in capitalist countries. Neither of them can serve as a el for us, any more than the life of a convict can serve as a standard one who has forced his way to liberty. We want all our workers and ctive farmers to live still better, we want every single one of them e prosperous; we want to have more meat and more fats, we want village folk to be well clothed and shod, we do not want to see the w thatched huts to remind us of the old life of Russia; we want to universal cleanliness, comfort and convenience for all, so that no or woman shall ever be tired of living, and that everyone may feel joy of life. (*Applause.*) It is along this path that we are steadily ching, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties. In a few years time will not recognize present day Russia any more than you can rec- ze Nep Russia of the past in present-day socialist Russia.

As a result of the construction of socialism in our country the e of the proletarian dictatorship has been strengthened to an enor- s degree. Today, no less than on the morrow of the October Revo- n, we are the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; but by ms of the irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., we are ng the power of our Soviet state to an unprecedented level. Our e is no longer what it was in the period of civil war when, in the st of sanguinary battles, we were compelled to fight for the creation consolidation of the Soviet power. Our state today is the state of most stable and firmest system, the socialist system, resting, not on economics of War Communism, but on the basis of the flourishing nomics of victorious socialism. (*Applause.*) It is not the state of the od when the historical question "who will win?" was being settled he class struggle between socialism and the capitalist elements, but ate in which socialism has already achieved victory over the capitalist ments. It is not a state with a variety of social and economic systems, a state in which the socialist system holds undivided sway, and in ch the unity of interests of the workers and collective farmers is wing more and more.

As far back as 1918 Lenin said:

> "The Soviets are a higher form of democracy, more than that, they are the beginning of the *socialist* form of democracy."

The historical decision of the Seventh Congress of Soviets—adopted Comrade Stalin's initiative—to introduce in our country equal suffrage direct and secret ballot is a very important step in the direction of ieving that socialist democracy to which Lenin referred.

Why did we take this step?

First, because the proletarian dictatorship has become stronger, and moreover, the further expansion of proletarian democracy will, in its turn, still further strengthen the proletarian dictatorship.

Second, because in our country the private ownership of the means of production has been superseded by the socialist ownership of the means of production; but the further extension of proletarian democracy will in its turn strengthen in the minds of the masses the consciousness that public property is inviolable and indestructible, and it will help to overcome the survivals of capitalism in economics and in the minds of men.

Third, because social changes have taken place in our country which help our Soviet land to pass to classless socialist society. The extension of proletarian democracy in its turn will accelerate the construction of classless socialist society.

Huge masses of people in our country have now turned finally and irrevocably to the side of socialism.

The Red Army, as the organ of defense of the proletarian state, reflected in its development the long road our Soviet country and our Soviet people have traversed. The time, when our young and almost unarmed Soviet government was compelled to beat off the piratical invasion of fourteen capitalist states more with its enthusiasm and at the price of enormous sacrifice and suffering than with military technique, has gone forever. Today, the enthusiasm of the revolutionary people is multiplied by the most advanced and powerful technique. Our Red Army is in the forefront in mastering, absorbing and reflecting, like a peculiar magic alloy, all our technical, economic and social changes and our achievements in all branches of life and economy. And as the Land of Soviets proceeds along the road towards classless society, the Red Army also becomes more and more a socially homogeneous fighting organization of all the nationalities inhabiting our Socialist Republics.

Could all the processes which have taken place as a result of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. fail to affect our Party, which was the organizer of this victory? Our Party not only led the masses to these victories, it itself grew up, became hardened and politically consolidated and extended its ties with the masses in the process of socialist construction. The people of our country have grown up to become great organizers of socialist construction, statesmen of outstanding merit, talented leaders of the masses. They have still further developed that specific Bolshevik style of work which is the combination of American efficiency and the Russian revolutionary range of action. In knowledge of the work that is entrusted to them our lower rank workers could teach a thing or two to the bourgeois minister of any country. (*Applause.*)

The concrete guidance of our Leninist Central Committee has ensured the growth of our cadres, the proper selection of all that is talented in the ranks of the working class. Severe self-criticism has prevented stagnation and complacency and has facilitated the further improvement of our Party, Soviet and business leaders. No other government in the world has permitted or permits such free criticism of the state, Party and business apparatus as has been and is permitted in our country.

At the same time, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our y has been trained during these years to display stern Bolshevik erance towards all sorts of deviations, towards attempts to bring the Party the influence of alien and hostile classes and to divert it the path of fighting for socialism to the path of capitalist degener-t.

Today, not only the toilers of our country, but the toilers of the e world, can test by the experience of the victories of socialism he U.S.S.R. the correctness of the general line of our Party, which ing carried out by the Stalinist leadership of the C.P.S.U.

Today, Bolshevism is not only a trend in political thought, it is a nty popular movement. It has extended beyond the limits of the y, it is becoming the world outlook of the broad masses of our try.

This socialist re-education of men and women—to the service of h are placed our schools, our press, our art and the whole of our e apparatus—is inseparably bound up with the task of inculcating the minds of our people the duties of international proletarian arity. Our Party and the toilers of the Land of Soviets have always d their obligations to the world proletariat above everything else, this is the case particularly today when the world is approaching second round of revolutions and wars, when the question "who will " is being presented with unprecedented sharpness in the interna-l arena.

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The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has opened a new stage in development of the world proletarian revolution by accelerating the wth of the revolutionary consciousness of the toiling masses, by ng forth a powerful movement towards socialism in all capitalist tries. It causes the millions to look to the U.S.S.R. as the bulwark eace and the freedom of nations, as a bulwark against fascism and erialist war. This change is not taking place at a dizzy speed, it not imply that the masses are at one stroke coming over to the ion of the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, not proceeding smoothly everywhere, it encounters the resistance of teracting forces, but it is proceeding and receives a fresh impetus result of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

This change is developing in the midst of the deepening and further sification of the antagonisms between the world of capitalism and world of socialism, in the midst of a fierce class struggle in rate countries as well as in the international arena; this develop-t has been retarded in every way by Social-Democracy, which still pies fairly strong positions among the broad masses. At the same , this change is taking place amidst a growing fascist movement the aid of which the bourgeoisie is trying to place obstacles in the of development of the revolutionary upsurge.

Lenin said:

"Ten to twenty years of proper relations with the peasantry,

and victory on a world scale is ensured (even if the proletarian revolutions—which are growing—are delayed), otherwise twenty to forty years of the torture of whiteguard terror."*

Explaining Lenin's words, Comrade Stalin, at the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in December, 1926, asked:

"And what does victory 'on a world scale' mean? Does it mean that such a victory is equivalent to the victory of socialism in a single country? No, it does not mean that. Lenin draws a strict distinction in his works between the victory of socialism in a single country and victory 'on a world scale'. By victory 'on a world scale' Lenin meant to say that the successes of socialism in our country, the victory of socialist construction in our country, is of such enormous international importance that it (the victory) cannot confine itself to our country but must call forth a powerful movement towards socialism in all capitalist countries; and although it does not coincide with the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries, at all events, it must be the starting point of a powerful movement of the proletariat of other countries towards the victory of the world revolution." **

Today the prophetic words of Lenin and Stalin are coming true. The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a victory of world-wide significance. It has not yet led to the overthrow of capitalism all over the world; but the powerful movement towards socialism in all capitalist countries has assumed and will continue to assume wider and wider proportions as the contrast between the prosperous socialist world, with its extended proletarian democracy and the doomed capitalist world, with its torture of whiteguard fascist terror, becomes more and more pronounced.

And what is the fate of the people in the capitalist countries? What have they got out of the conquest of foreign markets, out of wars of conquest, and the loans obtained on usurious terms? Have these enriched the people, or have they enriched a handful of magnates of capital? Have they removed the rags and tatters of poverty, have they given work to the millions of unemployed who have been forced out of industry forever, have they improved the material conditions of the masses?

America is the richest country in the world. It has all the conditions for a self-contained economy; the natural wealth of the country, an enormous territory, its own highly developed agriculture capable of feeding two such countries as America, a powerful industrial apparatus which if worked to full capacity could raise the national income to 300,000,000,000 dollars per annum. Only a few years ago the American people believed Hoover when he said that America was the land of "eternal prosperity", that the capitalist system of America was superior

* Lenin, *Miscellany*, Vol. IV, Russian edition, p. 374.
** Stalin, *Once Again on the Social-Democratic Deviation.*

e socialist system in the U.S.S.R., that America was the land of the est wages and of the highest standard of living in the world. But t does America look like today?

Ten million unemployed, reductions of wages, hundreds of thousands arms wrecked, the "middle class" ruined, an enormous increase in lumpen-proletarian population of the towns, the growth of armed ery by the so-called "gangsters", the bankruptcy of the N.R.A.— is the picture of America today. The fact that America more than other country became rich on war orders during the world im- alist war and the fact that at Versailles she dictated her will to the victor and vanquished states did not help her in the least; did her imperialist penetration into the lands of Latin America, her open-door policy in China.

The American people today are asking themselves in alarm, what is e done with the enormous army of unemployed, with the overgrown aratus of production, to the development of which capitalism sets mit. They have learned from their own experience the truth of x's law that the rate of profit serves as shackles which hinder the lopment of the productive forces of capitalist America. From the rience of the U.S.S.R. they see that the growth of public consump- , due to the enormous leap forward of the material and spiritual ure of the socialist man, provides unlimited possibilities for the de- pment of production. From the experience of America they learn capitalism is anarchy in production which, within the framework apitalist relationships, cannot be subjected to any system of N.R.A. ning.

But the U.S.S.R. shows them a living type of planned socialist omy, secure against the crisis of overproduction, in which the master, proletariat, reorganizes the various branches of production, mech- es human labor with the object of still further reducing labor . The mechanization of agriculture gives a mighty impetus to the her development of the productive forces, and by steadily raising the erial and cultural level of the masses it expands to an unlimited ee the capacity of home consumption. (*Applause.*)

There is another rich country—France. The French people were "victors" in the greatest war that ever occurred in history. The oles of our country were vanquished in that war. As a result of its ory, France redrew the map of Europe in the way she desired. An mpt was made to alter the geography of our country to suit France her allies. France imposed Versailles upon Germany, while German erialism imposed upon us a not less predatory peace, namely, Brest. er the war, France enjoyed hegemony in Europe and, in conjunction h her Allies, dictated her will to the peoples inhabiting it. Our ntry was isolated from the whole of the capitalist world and sur- nded by a barbed wire entanglement of hatred.

But the people of those states who regard themselves as victors are asking themselves in alarm what they have got out of the victory he imperialist war. Have the indemnities which Entente imperialism osed upon several generations of the German people in any way

benefited the masses of the people of those countries? Does the gold reserve accumulated in the vaults of the national banks of those countries serve as a guarantee against budget deficits? The victory of Entente arms resulted in Versailles; Versailles gave the German people fascism; German fascism is giving the French people feverish preparations for war, which, as on the eve of August 1914, once again threatens both the French and German people. And formerly backward Russia, the object of imperialist designs, a country beaten in the imperialist war, exhausted by civil war, the land which suffered the Brest peace, took the path of socialism and became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a mighty land of victorious socialism. (*Applause.*)

And it achieved this victory not only because it took a different path from that taken by France, but also because it took a different path from that taken by Germany. It reached the annulment of Brest by the road of proletarian revolution and socialism, whereas the German people smashed Versailles by taking the paths of bourgeois counter-revolution and fascism. Fascism has been torturing the German people for three years. But what has it given it in compensation for its lost bourgeois democracy? The cessation of reparation payments? But it was the government of the Weimar Republic that stopped paying reparations. No German government could pay these reparations under the conditions of severe crisis. Was it the victory of the Saar plebiscite? But, the government of the Weimar Republic would have received a larger number of votes in favor of joining the Saar with Germany than fascism obtained. Did fascism restore conscription? Yes, but the German people will have to pay for this "bloodless" victory with their blood. Feverish chauvinism and outbursts of bellicose ecstasy cultivated by fascism are not leading the people to happiness. The German people have already had to pay for this sort of thing in the form of the disaster of 1918 and Versailles.

Has fascism given firm, bourgeois order? But June 30 revealed bloody chaos in the fascist regime. Not a single dying system has ever managed to save itself from doom by means of terror. Has fascism given emancipation from slavery to the usurers?. Who in Germany today believes this demagogic point in the fascist program? Has it abolished the class struggle? But what do the brutal torture of the German people, the concentration camps, the dying groans of the front rank fighters of the working class of Germany, the ruthless daily executions indicate if not the fear of the bourgeoisie and the inherent weakness of the fascist system? Has it increased industrial output? But it has dropped to 87 per cent of that of 1928, whereas that of the U.S.S.R. has trebled. Has it increased the national income? But it dropped 60 per cent, whereas that of the U.S.S.R. increased more than two-fold. Such are the results of the liquidation of Versailles by fascist methods. Such is the unvarnished truth about the "victories" of the "Third Empire".

The Italian people have similar results to show after thirteen years of fascist dictatorship. A steady decline in wages, increased unemployment, ruin of the peasantry, impoverishment of the whole Italian people,

action of the standard of living during the past thirteen years by per cent, bringing it only above that of Portugal, which is at the om of the list among the half-starved people of Europe, a feverish for armaments, colonial aggression crowned by the Ethiopian enture.

The results are no better in Japan. During the last half century an rapidly became industrialized on capitalist lines. She created a ern industrial apparatus while preserving feudal relations. But t has this industrialization given the Japanese people? Japanese stry literally grew up on the bones of the Japanese workers and anese peasants.

Nowhere in the world is there such monstrous exploitation as in an. The wages of a Japanese worker are only half of those of the st-paid workers in Europe. Japanese working girls and peasant s are sold like slaves on the market into eternal bondage to the talists and as white slaves to brothel keepers. The Japanese peasants, have to bear this modernized industrial apparatus on their backs, together with their families, together with their whole generation, ght in a web of debt and taxes as a fly is caught in a spider's web. r after year the Japanese people are being ruined more and more. dal capitalist exploitation hinders the development of the home mar- Hence Japanese capitalism is furiously seeking foreign markets and this purpose resorts to the notorious dumping and to territorial quests.

The Japanese imperialists justify these conquests on the ground the Japanese islands are congested and therefore Japan must seek territory in Asia. But the Japanese workers and peasants have not ained more room to live in by the fact that the Japanese army has upied Manchuria. This occupation has only caused more congestion the population of Manchuria. The Japanese imperialists declare t it is their sacred mission to protect the rights of the yellow race in a against the white race. Is that why they are oppressing the yellow e in Korea and Formosa, and are waging a predatory war against people of the same race—the great Chinese people? The Japanese erialists assert that in order to uphold the prosperity and greatness the Japanese nation victorious wars against other peoples and the ansion of Japan at the expense of these peoples are necessary.

But during the past half century Japanese arms have not known eat because they have only been used against weak enemies. Neverthe- , they have not achieved prosperity for the Japanese toiling masses. e Japanese imperialists assert that it is possible to emerge from the nomic crisis and to put an end to the misfortunes of the people used by it, by means of war. But Japan has taken the path of war, rtheless, the misfortunes of the Japanese people have not diminished, the contrary, they have increased since the Japanese imperialists have n plundering China.

The war inflation boom may have increased the dividends of the tsui and Mitsubishi trusts, but the poverty and ruin of the Japanese ling masses have not diminished as a result of this, on the contrary,

they have increased. What have the Japanese people gained from the conquest of alien territory, from the subjection of other people except an excessively inflated police apparatus which is suppressing, not only Koreans and Chinese, but even the Japanese workers and peasants? What did the Japanese people gain from the fact that the tsarist fleet was sunk at Tsusima and that the Russian army was routed at Fort Arthur? The strengthened positions of Japanese militarism—an added burden of militarism which still further worsened the position of the toiling masses of Japan, still further contracted the internal market and pushed Japan into fresh military adventures.

But as the result of the defeat of the imperialist policy of tsarism the beaten peoples of old tsarist Russia, by the Revolution of 1905, delivered a shattering blow to tsarist absolutism, to the ruling classes of old Russia, from which they never recovered, and by that they paved the way for the great October victory of 1917 over Russian capitalism. The result is that today, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean there borders on Japan, not old tsarist Russia with its decayed political regime, not the Russia of Tsusima and Port Arthur, but the U.S.S.R., the Land of Soviets, a socialist land, a mighty land against which Japanese imperialism will smash its skull if it dares attack her. It will have another Tsusima, but this time a Tsusima for the feudal capitalist system of its own country. (*Applause.*)

The ruling class of Great Britain rule one-third of the globe. Four oceans—the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Arctic and Indian Oceans—wash the shores of their possessions. Five hundred million human beings are directly subjected to them. A powerful navy guards the shores of their subjects, overseas territories and peoples. Britain rules the waves. She holds the key to straits and sea routes. British capitalism is the oldest in the world and dates back nearly four hundred years. The British bourgeoisie did not have eighteen years, not seven years, as the Land of Soviets had, in which to raise the people they rule to prosperity or even to provide them with enough to eat. For decades they exploited colonies and squeezed enormous super profits out of them. She crushed Germany who tried to share world domination with her. She dominated the world markets. She waged victorious wars and imposed indemnities upon peoples. In short, she made extensive use of all those means so highly lauded by the bourgeoisie as the means of saving the peoples from poverty and disaster.

Has British industry worked better after the war since Great Britain robbed Germany of her markets? Have the gold fields of the Transvaal saved Britain from crises? Have the three million British unemployed obtained work by the fact that the British flag flies in the five continents of the globe? Are the five hundred million subjects of Great Britain living better today because Great Britain won the world imperialist war?

The laws of capitalism are inexorable, they are again driving the British people into the vicious circle of a still further worsening of the conditions of the masses, still further enslavement of the colonies, of a new series of imperialist wars, more monstrous than all the wars in history put together. And the hour is near when the masses of the

sh people will see in the Soviet Union the reflection of their morrow. nger will they be haunted with the nightmare of the loss of colonies he disintegration and doom of Great Britain, for there is a country h has risen from the ashes of ruin without plundering other es, a land which is a fraternal alliance of peoples, who, by joint s, are developing their productive forces on socialist lines. And in wonderful destiny of this country they will recognize other, non-alist laws, they will realize that socialism needs no wars, no in-ities, no foreign markets and no colonies for the purpose of en-g the prosperity and happiness of the people.

One and a half billion people now in bondage to imperialism will rstand that neither British capital nor American missionaries nor nese bayonets, nor the German fascist "civilizers" are required economic regeneration, that this regeneration ensures their eman-ion from the shackles of capitalist property and guarantees them profits of their own labor, that only on socialist lines is it possible hieve, not fictitious, but real independence and freedom of nations. is why, comrades, the people are beginning to move—and this is is frightening the world bourgeoisie, that is why from their ranks nbreakable circle of admiring friends of the Soviet Union is being ed, that is why the bourgeoisie, threatened by these world significant ges, are resorting to fascism, and why the people they rule will iate to this more and more by resolutely going over to the side of lism.

With the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., on the threshold of second round of revolutions and wars, a new political situation is ed, a new relation of class forces is being brought about in the national arena which makes it incumbent upon the Communist ies to take up a number of fundamental questions of the strategy tactics of our struggle in a new way.

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. places in the hands of the munist Party in the capitalist countries a powerful instrument with h to influence the broad toiling masses. "At present we exercise influence on the international revolution mainly by means of our omic policy",* said Lenin in the period when we had finished the against the interventionists and had taken up economic construction. Today, we exercise this influence magnified many times by the *ry of socialism* which is more widely and deeply destroying the mass of capitalism. Today this victory is smashing the influence of the promising policy of Social-Democracy upon the working class; it is asing the power of attraction of Communism for the working class; undermining the mass base of fascism and is creating for the Com-ist Parties great opportunities for influencing those strata which ill now have been wavering between capitalism and socialism.

Hence, our old methods of agitation and propaganda concerning J.S.S.R. are no longer adequate; we must now appeal to wider strata ne toiling population and show them what their lot will be under

* Lenin "Closing Speech at the All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P.", May 28, 1921. *ted Works*, Vol. XXVI, Russian edition.

socialism, illustrating it with concrete examples of the experience of the U.S.S.R.

Second, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the further successes of socialist construction make it necessary for the Communist Parties to adopt a more active policy towards the allies of the working class in its revolutionary struggle, such as the main masses of the peasantry, the ruined urban petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, etc. In their agitation among the peasants, the Communists must utilize the achievements of collectivization in the U.S.S.R., and the vast improvement in the material and cultural level of the collective farmers in order to smash the campaign of lies waged by the bourgeois parties against socialism and to tear the peasants away from their influence.

In their agitation among the urban petty bourgeoisie the Communists must not only take Nep, which bore a temporary transitional character, as their starting point, but should also explain the positive experience of the U.S.S.R. where all the elements who are honestly prepared to work for the benefit of the people are drawn into the work of socialist construction, and where they and their children are ensured a secure present and a happy future under the socialist system.

Third, the historical decision of the Seventh Congress of Soviets on the further extension of proletarian democracy by the introduction of equal suffrage and direct and secret ballot, enrich the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin regarding the proletarian dictatorship with the concrete experience of its development after the victory of socialism and the building up of classless socialist society. This is not only a great contribution to the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also a powerful weapon that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries may wield in their struggle against fascism. Today, it is not sufficient merely to contrast the proletarian dictatorship with the bourgeois dictatorship in its fascist and bourgeois democratic forms.

Today, the Communists must come out as the sole champions of *genuine people's* democracy, of socialist democracy, guaranteed by equal suffrage and direct and secret ballot under the conditions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fourth, the role and significance of the U.S.S.R. increases as *the bulwark of the freedom of nations.* Pointing out to the people the living and graphic example of new, socialist democracy, which is inseparably connected with the development of the proletarian dictatorship, contrasting this socialist democracy to the terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, into which corrupt bourgeois democracy is growing, the Communists must mobilize the masses of the people for the fight against all forms of bourgeois dictatorship and primarily against fascism.

Fifth, the role of the U.S.S.R. is *growing as the bulwark of peace among nations.* The U.S.S.R. needs no foreign wars for the purpose of transforming the world. The people themselves will rise against their oppressors and do that. The U.S.S.R. needs no wars because in the competition between the two world systems it is the system of socialism that is winning every day; for it shows the world its superiority over the capitalist system. If the world bourgeoisie left our country in peace for

ade it would be able by its socialist achievements to convince the masses of humanity all over the world of the superiority of its n and would transform even the most "peaceful" people who now as the bulwark of capitalism into revolutionaries opposed to alism.

But the capitalist world does not want to allow the socialist system velop peacefully. The capitalist system cannot exist without wars, t is pulling the toilers, full steam ahead, into new wars.

The U.S.S.R. rallies and groups around itself all those who do not war. These are not only the vast toiling masses of town and ry, not only classes, their parties and organizations in the various ries, they are whole nations and states whose independence is tened by war; these are even the bourgeois governments of im- nt imperialist countries which today are not interested in war. their motives may be is a matter of secondary importance at the nt time.

Sixth, the significance of the U.S.S.R. has still further increased e *fortress of the world proletarian revolution* and has thus greatly gthened the position of the working class of the world in its strug- gainst capital. *The weight of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R.* in the revolutionary movement, the leading role of the proletariat of U.S.S.R., and the prestige of the C.P.S.U. among the toilers of the world have increased. The socialist victories of the U.S.S.R. are ning a mighty lever in bringing the masses of the workers in the alist countries under the influence of the Communist Parties.

The weight of the U.S.S.R. has also grown in world economics and cs and this increases the significance of the world labor movement f its Communist vanguard. The vanguard of this movement is now ging from the propaganda period of its development, it is becoming nost effective force in the great international policy of the working and can set itself bolder and greater tasks that it has done hitherto. ng on the U.S.S.R., this vanguard of the working class can more utely influence events and more often change their direction.

We shall never forget what Comrade Stalin said:

> "The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world working class. We have triumphed not only as a result of the efforts of the working class of the U.S.S.R., but also as a result of the support of the working class of the world. Without this support we would long ago have been torn to pieces."*

Our strength and our achievements belong not only to the peoples e U.S.S.R., not only to the Communist vanguard, but to the working of all countries—to the workers affiliated to the Amsterdam Federa- of Trade Unions, to the workers who follow the lead of the parties ated to the Second International, to the unorganized workers and e workers compelled to belong to the fascist organizations.

Comrade Stalin said:

Stalin, "The Tasks of Business Managers", *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 424. International Pub- , New York.

> "We must move forward so that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, might say: 'Here is my vanguard, here is my shock brigade, here is my working class state, here is my fatherland; they are promoting their cause which is our cause; well, let us support them against the capitalists, and spread the cause of the world revolution'."* (*Applause.*)

And Comrade Stalin teaches our Party, our workers and our country "to remain loyal to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians. . . ."**

And our Party, our people, our country, trained by Lenin and Stalin, are steadfastly loyal and will remain loyal to this cause of proletarian internationalism no matter what trials history may subject us to. Every one of us will remain loyal to proletarian internationalism to our very last efforts, to our last breath, to our last drop of blood. (*Loud applause, and cheers. All rise.*) That is why, comrades, *the exploited and oppressed in all parts of the world regard our land of victorious socialism as their fatherland; that is why they regard our Party and our working class as the shock brigade of the world proletariat; that is why they regard our Stalin as the great, wise and beloved leader of the whole of toiling humanity.* (*Loud applause.*)

Let the invincible cause of proletarian internationalism live and grow!

Long live the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world! (*Applause.*)

Long live our Stalin! (*Loud applause, rising to an ovation. Everybody rises, loud cheers, cries of "Banzai!" "Red Front!" "Long live the Soviet Government!" "Long live Comrade Stalin!" The delegates sing the "Internationale" in their various languages.*)

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* *Ibid*, pp. 424-425.

** Stalin, "Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.", in *Socialism Victorious*, p. 92.

ıe Movement of the Youth and the Struggle Against Fascism and the Danger of War *

By O. KUUSINEN

THE POSITION OF THE YOUTH HAS CHANGED

EAR comrades, the clearest and truest word about the threatening war danger was expressed by Comrade Stalin at the last Congress ıe Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He showed with remarkable ty how hopeless is the confusion and how blind the alley into which imperialist politicians have fallen, people who despite the experience he World War, which unleashed revolution in many countries and ninated in the victory of the proletariat in Russia, are again prepar- to seize on war, "as a drowning man grasps at a straw". Another erialist war "will surely let loose revolution and will put under tion the very existence of capitalism in a number of countries," said rade Stalin. But in this same speech Comrade Stalin categorically ned *against any opportunist belief in spontaneity.*

At our Congress, Comrade Dimitroff has delivered a very heavy r at reliance on spontaneity. As you remember, comrades, his report he question of struggle against fascism, as well as his concluding arks, were permeated from beginning to end with the spirit of strug- against reliance on automatism, the spirit of raising our Bolshevik vity to the highest possible degree.

The report of Comrade Ercoli was so comprehensive and all-em- cing that there is little left for me to add. My additional remarks refer usively to only one section of this front, namely, the struggle for the *th.*

It is of *decisive* importance both in the struggle against the war ger as well as against fascism, whether or not we succeed in launch- a powerful mass revolutionary or radical movement of the youth. l of particular importance is the development of a wide *united front vement of the youth.*

It stands to reason that the questions of the struggle against war fascism are among the most important questions facing any radical vement of the youth. But experience has shown, that if we have a gram of action for the youth which is confined exclusively to the stion of the struggle against war and fascism, or if the anti-war and i-fascist struggle of the youth is dealt with in a narrow "official" y, the vast masses of youth cannot be embraced and drawn into the vement. To bring them into motion *a wider program of action* is neces- y.

* Speech delivered August 17, 1935 at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

This was shown, for example, by the work of the international youth committee for the struggle against fascism and war. That committee performed a good deal of work but little progress was made in drawing in the masses so long as it confined itself merely to these two issues. It was only when the international committee took the initiative in convening a broad youth conference on the basis of a general youth program that it met with a warm response from the masses.

How is this to be explained, comrades? It is to be explained by the fact that *the conditions of the youth have fundamentally changed in the last few years*. It is not merely a question of chronic unemployment lasting many years. The fact that there is no trade or profession open for the youth has already become quite general. Formerly there were some schools, at least elementary schools, open for the masses of the youth in most of the capitalist countries. Now the possibilities of entering school and in general of securing an education are being severely restricted for the young people among the toiling sections of the population. Formerly, it was possible for a certain, if only insignificant section of the working youth to elevate themselves a little "above" their own class, into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeois intellectuals. In exceptional cases, the young worker could become a doctor, an architect or a teacher. And these exceptional cases were sufficient to insure that vast numbers of the working youth were subordinated to the influence of reformist illusions.

Now it is just the reverse. Entire sections of young workers are becoming *declassed, i.e.*, they have even no opportunity of rising to the class of their own fathers. They have no chance at all of finding work or of learning some kind of trade. These young people are degraded to the level of the lumpen proletariat, and fall into the clutches of starvation and poverty, crime, and prostitution, etc.

But the bourgeoisie, who cannot provide work to ever larger sections of young workers, needs the latter for the purposes of war. The youth are herded together in military barracks and forced labor camps.

In one form or another want affects nine-tenths of the youth. *The younger generation is an impoverished and heavily oppressed generation.* It is a new oppressed stratum of the people. Even the United States, the country where young people have the greatest opportunities, and where their conditions are comparatively good, has become a country of terrific unemployment and insecurity for the youth.

This state of affairs has created special ground for the development of a broad young people's front.

The bourgeoisie have charged fascism with the mission of swaying the impoverished youth by means of demagogy, and especially chauvinism. There can be no doubt that in these circumstances objective conditions offer favorable ground for fascism to carry on its live work. But Communism has also far greater possibilities for work among the youth than formerly.

Our decisions in regard to the youth suffered from one defect: they were too general, too abstract. This should serve as a lesson to us.

rade Dimitroff correctly pointed out that sectarianism is often red up by Bolshevik theses. We are not afraid to criticize that, and ertainly have good reason for criticism and self-criticism insofar as outh movement is concerned. This time, however, I should like to tell of some of the recent positive experiences of the Young Communist ement in some countries, especially in *France and the United States.*

THE FRENCH EXPERIENCES

The fascists faced the masses of the French youth with the question tablishing a "front of the young generation". Our French comrades, rade Raimond Guyot and others, accepted this fascist challenge. But ?

Had they been simple doctrinaire propagandists, they would have cted the very formulation of this question, and would have said that e is no problem of the young generation, that there is only the class blem, the question of the oppressed toiling classes and their youth.

But the French comrades said something else. They said:

> "Very well, let us discuss the problem of the younger generation of today. That *really is* an acute and sore problem. It is a question of want, oppression, and despair being suffered by the overwhelming majority of the young generation today. A *struggle* must be waged against this ruthless oppression of the youth. The youth must fight for their rights, a struggle in their cause is absolutely necessary. A front of the young generation must be set up. *But against whom?* Who is to blame for the pauperization of the young generation? Who exploits and throws you out of work and onto the streets for the sake of their own gain? It is the capitalist, and primarily the big capitalist. Who oppresses and wrongs the youth? Who prevents you from leading a decent human life? It is the reactionary bourgeoisie with the aid of their machinery of government. Who wants still more ferociously to tie the youth hand and foot? Who wants with blood and iron to crush the struggle of the youth for their rights? It is the executors of the will of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the *fascists*, the *Croix de Feu* (Fiery Cross) people, it is they who want to do that. Consequently, they are the enemies of the youth. It is against them that a front of the young generation must be created."

That is how the French comrades dealt with this question.

Was this position of our French comrades right or wrong? If any you comrades should want to reply: "Of course it is right", then I will : "Yes, it is right," but I would add not "of course". For the fact is t last year, when our French comrades first adopted this approach to masses of the youth, this was not at all something self-evident. On contrary, here in the Executive Committee of the Young Commut International, even some of the best comrades thought this was nething strange, something doubtful, something suspicious. They shook ir heads and wondered:

"What sort of language is this? What is that front of the young generation? That is not our Communist language. It is a slogan borrowed from the fascists."

That, of course, was an obvious misunderstanding. For the French Communists merely utilized the *form* of raising this question used by the fascists as a starting point so as to lend it a *genuine revolutionary content.* And precisely because they were not frightened by this formulation of the question, but faced the polemics provoked by the fascists and went before the masses of the youth, they succeeded in knocking the sword out of the hands of the fascists and in directing it *against* fascism.

It was precisely the ability of skillfully parrying the blows of the fascist demagogues that our young comrades in Germany lacked at one time.

In their speeches to the young workers the French comrades were also able correctly to answer the question of *what the youth must fight for.*

Should they fight for their elementary demand for their daily bread or for the great ideals of the future? This wrong way of setting the one against the other has in a number of countries been a constant stumbling block in the Communist agitation among the youth, as a result of which our Leagues did not fight with all the fervor of conviction *either* for the immediate day-to-day demands of the youth, *or* for the great aims of the future. The broad masses of the youth were left with the false impression that the reformists and even the Catholic priests were more concerned than the Communists with the day-to-day needs of the masses of the youth, and that the fascist demagogues were better able than the Communists to open before them bright vistas of the future.

But the French comrades found the key to the organic fusion of the day-to-day demands of the youth with the revolutionary goal of the youth movement. They called forth an enthusiastic response in the ranks of the Socialist as well as the Republican and Catholic youth, and also at mass meetings of the unemployed youth, by addressing them as follows:

"All young people, suffering from want and deprived of their rights, must rise for a joint struggle! Into the fight for our rights, for *the rights of the youth!* We have the right to live, but the capitalists and speculators deny us even this elementary right of man. We demand immediate aid, we demand immediate work. We have the right to learn a trade, we have the right to education in general! Of this right we are now being systematically deprived. This right is being constantly curtailed. We demand that the government takes immediate measures against this. We demand that the burdens of the crisis be shifted from the backs of the toiling people onto the shoulders of the moneybags, onto those who are profiting from the crisis. We, the younger generation, demand the right to a better and happier future. We shall not tolerate the Hitlerization of France! We demand the dissolution of the fascist murderer gangs. We want to fight for peace among the nations! We must therefore conduct a determined struggle in our country against the fascists,

and against the reactionary militarists, who are preparing another world war and a criminal civil war against the working class of France!"

It was in this spirit that the Young Communist League of France roached the masses, and succeeded in laying the foundation for a s united front movement of the youth. But our young French comes were criticized from the angle of the old doctrinaire formulæ: hy," they were told, "you have forgotten to emphasize that it is *impsible* to carry through any kind of demands for the improvement of conditions of the young workers under capitalism". "This is a fundatal omission, an opportunist deviation," was the point of view of the ct critics.

But the French young comrades maintained and still maintain with d reason:

> "No, *we can* achieve some improvement in the conditions of the youth if the vast masses of the youth rise to a joint and determined struggle. Whether this will happen or not depends primarily *upon us*, upon our energy and upon the correctness of our tactics."

To bring this about the French comrades went to the masses of the mployed youth with true Bolshevik determination and told them:

> "Winter is approaching, comrades. You know what sufferings that will bring. Must we suffer all this torture like cowardly slaves? No! We cannot and do not wish to go through the coming winter the way we have done hitherto! If you agree with us, then we propose immediate *action*. Let us immediately send mass deputation to the Minister of Labor! Let us send deputations even to Geneva, to the League of Nations! Let us immediately organize powerful demonstrations on the streets of Paris! We, the youth, must *fight* for our right to live! Only in this way shall we secure an improvement of our conditions. And we shall fight like lions. We will show the rich bankers and other hyenas of the crisis, the gentlemen of the Comite des Forges and their like, that we, the French youth, do not want to be slaves! *Let the old world tremble, because we, the youth of France, are rising!*"

That is how our French young comrades *conquered* fascism *pocally* at this stage of the fight facing the broad masses of the youth. e fascists lost their desire to speak any further of the "front of the unger generation", they retreated like whipped dogs with their tails tween their legs. (*Applause.*)

This "French method of struggle" against fascism was *something new* ly a year ago. It required at the time great political courage and indendence on the part of our comrades. For those comrades of the Execue Committee of the Young Communist International who at first could t understand this language of the Young Communists of France, a

language free from the old hackneyed verbiage, because they failed to understand its political meaning—for them this served as an important political lesson. It called it "a lesson in French" at the time.

The Young Communist International as a whole, has, of course, so far only made the first steps in the application of these tactics. There is no doubt, however, that under the present leadership it will make rapid headway along this path.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The experience of the Young Communist League of the United States is also extremely instructive.

There things began with the well advertised organizational initiative of one of the fascist groups which, with the support of the government, called a congress of all the youth organizations of the country. The Young Communist League was faced with the question of whether to send its representatives to that congress or not. It is not surprising that, this being a new departure, differences of opinion arose in the League. A few years ago such a question would probably have been decided without any discussion, with a simple refusal to take any part in the congress. Our comrades would very likely have been perfectly satisfied with such a sectarian decision, and would have regarded it as the best solution of the question. On this occasion, however, the question was discussed in the Young Communist League, and it was found that the comrades who objected to participation in the congress had poor arguments. "We fear we are too weak," they said, "to be able to withstand such mighty forces."

As you see, comrades, the old sectarianism, which on so many occasions spoke with an exaggerated air of self-assurance, in the present occasion, when an important practical question called for a clear and courageous decision, was the very embodiment of *lack of self assurance* and disbelief in its own strength or of being able to play a leading role among the young workers.

The leaders of our American Young Communist League, headed by Comrade Green, rejected this weak-kneed argument, rolled up their sleeves, and went to the congress which represented a motley gathering of the various social strata of the American youth. Our American comrades were very successful at the congress. The agents of the fascists were totally isolated, and the congress became a gathering of the united front of the radical youth. And when after some time, a second youth congress was held, our young comrades occupied a very important position there, enjoying the confidence they had gained through their new mass policy and the good work they had learned to carry on.

What concretely have they learned to do?

Firstly, they have learned *soberly to estimate the degree of the radicalization of the masses of the youth, i.e.*, to judge it correctly without Right underestimation or "Left" overestimation.

Formerly some comrades imagined things simply this way, namely, that once radicalization had set in among the toiling masses and an up-

ward swing had begun in the mass movement, and that is what had actually happened in America, then you can without further ado "formulate" the existence of a revolutionary upward swing, and then that needed to be done was to look up the program of the Communist International, find what revolutionary slogans had to be applied to such a situation and what revolutionary tasks had to be undertaken.

The American young comrades have now seen that although a big process has begun in the United States in which they are growing more radical and active among the masses of the youth, these masses, even their most active representatives, have not as yet understood the most simple Communist slogans or appeals. They have not even understood the meaning of such a "simple" thing as fascism. That has had to be explained in a popular form. And even when these elements did understand that fascism is their enemy, it turned out that many of them found it to be perfectly acceptable to adopt the slogan advocated in Hearst's press, namely, "Down with Communism, fascism"! They did not notice that it was in just such a deceptive form that the purely American fascist agitation was being carried on. It was necessary to explain the actual state of affairs very patiently, *without forcing upon the youth our point of view.*

Secondly, our American Young Communists convinced themselves that *they could really learn much from the masses of non-Communists.*

They, for instance, learned a "new language", the fresh, concrete, popular and expressive language of the youth, a language which Comrade Dimitroff insisted upon here, instead of the old, dry, stereotyped jargon which almost no sane person can properly understand.

Thirdly, the American Young Communists have also learned to overcome their former rigidity and to apply *flexible tactics.*

Comrade Green mentioned two example of this. The first example was that of the religious members of the Congress who were at first skeptical on the possibility of a united front with the Communists, and who were given an opportunity on Sunday morning of having the pleasure of attending church service. Another example was that of Roosevelt's plan of providing for the youth, which stipulated an appropriation of fifty million dollars as immediate aid to the youth, and which on the initiative of our comrades, was not denounced as demagogy, but was accepted as a *concession* which the government had to make in view of the growing united front movement of the youth. At the same time the leaders of the united front movement of the youth showed the sparsity of this measure and showed the masses how the government plan threatened to worsen the conditions of some sections of the youth. Comrade Green was quite right in estimating the results of these tactics as follows:

> "Thus, this project of Roosevelt was changed from a weapon directed against the Youth Congress into an instrument for mobilizing the youth for increased government aid."

We see here the same result as in France. The sword was knocked out of the hands of the enemy and directly against it.

Fourthly, the comrades of the Young Communist League of the United States convinced themselves of the fact that it is necessary to enter the *broad organizations of the youth* which are now under *bourgeois* leadership. Moreover, they have learned how to carry on work there.

Formerly, such youth organizations were classified by the Young Communist International as hostile organizations pure and simple, and the millions of their members were regarded as "opponents".

The fact that the *majority of toiling youth* in the United States, and not only there, belong to these organizations was totally disregarded. And even when we actually began to speak of the need to carry on work in the ranks of these organizations, this work was understood in a purely sectarian spirit, as work to be carried on for their "disintegration", which was so unsuitable in this sphere that we need not regret that these decisions mostly remained on paper.

The American Young Communists, summing up their experiences, tell us that we must go to these mass organizations, not with a view to disintegrating them, but so as to "transform them from centers of bourgeois influence into centers for united front struggle, into centers of proletarian influence". The masses of the youth regard these organizations as their own and only by serious work to make these organizations defend the needs and interests of the youth can we widen our mass movements.

Our American Communists found in these organizations large numbers of officials and leaders who were prepared to fight together with the Communists against reaction, and in the course of less than a year the Young Communist League succeeded in forming 175 cells in these mass organizations. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, these are only some, and not all, of the favorable results of the recent work of the Young Communist League of the United States of America.

WORK IN THE BOURGEOIS YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Is all this work carried on in the ranks of the bourgeois mass organizations, the beginning of which has so successfully been laid by the American young Communists, possible and necessary only in the United States?

Of course, it is possible and necessary not only there. It is just as possible—although perhaps in not the same forms—in many other countries. Our comrades in Great Britain began, or, to be more exact, they are just beginning, to do something of the same nature in different concrete forms. They are rather late. In the Scandinavian countries our comrades are so tardy that they have not as yet even raised this question very seriously.

In the fascist countries this work must of course be carried on differently than under legal conditions. Comrade Dimitroff excellently illustrated this to us by his apt comparison with the Trojan Horse.

But not only in the fascist countries have we to apply these tactics—we have also to do so in some of the colonial countries, for example, in

China. You know that our Chinese Young Communists have performed heroic deeds of a truly legendary nature in the Soviet areas. They skillfully apply the Trojan Horse tactics at the front. But in the Kuomintang areas, where terorr reigns supreme, they are weak precisely when it comes to using these tactics. The famous French writer, Andre Malreaux, seeking examples of supreme heroism, had to go to China. There he found what he wanted. He found great deeds of our glorious Chinese youth. But the task of freeing themselves from sectarian survivals under the conditions of terror proved to be difficult even for our Chinese comrades. They must learn to lead the Trojan Horse into the broad mass organizations created by the class enemy. And they will learn to do this. They are gifted people. (*Applause.*)

Even the non-fascist leaders of such mass organizations, even those who carry on pacifist propaganda in "peace time", will, in nine cases out of ten, actually place themselves, in one form or another, at the disposal of the military leaders when the ruling bourgeoisie declare war. The mass of young members of these organizations will be caught unawares. They will be fooled into war if they are not prepared for this in advance, by their contacts with the Communists, if prior to this the Communists merely babble about "mass work".

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUES

How can the proletariat of the imperialist countries prepare for the event of imperialist war if our *Young Communist Leagues* are as weak as they are today? Without strong, active revolutionary young workers' organizations organically linked up with the biggest youth organizations in the country, the proletariat will resemble a soldier without arms in the struggle against war and fascism.

But it does not follow from the fact that we need to have strong *revolutionary* organizations, that our youth Leagues must accept only such new members who are already revolutionary, who are already Communists, who can be fully relied upon. No! We must *open wider the doors of our youth organizations!* Wherever these organizations are legal they must be absolutely open for all young lads and lasses who sincerely sympathize with Communism and wish to study Communism.

Life in the Young Communist organizations must be so readjusted as to make the new members who are not yet Communists, who are not yet accustomed to Communist discipline and Communist activity, feel at home in our Young Communist Leagues, feel interested in coming to our meetings, and take a lively interest in the life of our organizations so as to give them an opportunity to develop step by step into good Communists.

Fluctuation of membership was particularly high in our youth organizations. And what is fluctuation? *It is a criticism of our sectarianism wielded by the masses who sympathize with us.* (*Applause.*) This sectarianism is for the most part expressed in excessive demands put on new members in regard to work and discipline, demands which they cannot fulfil. Moreover, their work is badly organized, it is mostly of a technical character and so boring that it can kill any live interest in it. And

anyone who cannot meet these demands is attacked by our Young Communist officials, and often even expelled. I have information from Spain that in many instances members of the youth organizations are expected to do more than members of the Communist Party. Fluctuation there is correspondingly very high. This is one, although not the only one, of the forms, but one of the worst forms in which our youth organizations copy the Parties and which Comrade Dimitroff so thoroughly criticized.

THE MAIN TASK FACING THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The main task facing the Young Communist International is *to establish unity in the youth movement against fascism, war and capitalist oppression.* This main task was very clearly and firmly raised by Comrade Georgi Dimitroff in his report and resolution on the second point of the Congress Agenda. It met with wholehearted approval of the Young Communist delegation at our World Congress.

An amalgamation of the forces and constant unity of action of the Young Socialist and Young Communist Leagues would undoubtedly attract the young workers into both youth organizations. Together, they would constitute a *leading force* in the mass movement of the youth in the respective countries, especially in the movement against fascism which threatens to annihilate both the Communist as well as the Socialist Youth Leagues and all progressive youth organizations.

Comrade Dimitroff therefore urged the youth to creat an *anti-fascist association* of the Young Communist and Young Socialist Leagues, based on a program of the class struggle. Comrade Dimitroff's appeal will undoubtedly meet with warm response among the Young Socialists.

The Communist youth, on their part, are in duty bound to facilitate the acceptance of this proposal by the Young Socialist organizations. That will mark a big step forward in the youth movement.

But this international task by no means signifies that we cannot or should not *go further* in some countries. If the Communist International is now raising the question of merging the Parties, then it is clear that the possibility of merging the Young Communist and Young Socialist organizations is a still more immediate and urgent task in some countries.

In the *Young Socialist International* there is already a Left wing fighting for a united front and approaching a revolutionary position. That could not be otherwise! On the eve of great mass combats, the best and most capable forces of the working youth are deserting the camp of reformism and coming over to the side of the proletarian revolution. And this is true not only of the young workers, but also of the youth of the other toiling classes, the students, etc. They are fresh capable forces at the disposal of the active army in the war for social emancipation.

We can see this in all countries where the Communists have been able in a proper way to assist the process of the radicalization of the youth going on in the bourgeois mass organizations.

Hence, the far-reaching immediate importance of the second task

which Comrade Dimitroff has set before the youth, the task of "uniting the forces of all non-fascist mass organizations of the youth, including the youth organizations in the trade unions, cooperatives, etc., on the basis of a wide united front, going as far as creating all kinds of *common organizations* for the struggle against fascism, against the unheard denial of the rights of the youth, against their militarization, and for the economic and cultural interests of the younger generation."

Comrades, this is the correct way, the line of the Young Communist movement.

FOR FREEDOM—FOR THE IDEALS OF THE YOUTH

In the international united front movement of the youth, as you know, we have lately begun to use new slogans, which in form are fairly old—slogans of liberty, peace and the defense of democracy. It is quite natural for some of our comrades to be confused, because they know and it could not be otherwise, that the slogans we support can and must be able to stand criticism from the point of view of Communist principles.

Comrades, who doubt, do not realize that times have changed, that slogans are not fossils, that their vital content changes with the times and circumstances. The slogan of liberty was at one time a revolutionary slogan of the revolutionary bourgeoisie. Later it became a reformist slogan. Finally, at a still later date, it became a counter-revolutionary slogan. In Germany, for example, in the years of 1928-1932, when the Social-Democrats were in the government and held on to the slogan: "Against dictatorships from the Left or from the Right, for Freedom", that was a counter-revolutionary slogan of the Social-Democratic government. But now when it is advanced as a slogan of struggle not against the Communists but *jointly with them*, a united front struggle against fascism, this slogan, of course, acquires an entirely different content. Naturally, such people's front slogans are unclear and it is therefore our duty to make them clear. We must raise the question squarely before the masses: *freedom for which classes?* Otherwise this slogan may dull the class consciousness of the proletariat and its allies.

Consequently, the question has to be elucidated; but it would be unwise to simply reject such slogans. The old slogans have to be filled with new revolutionary meaning. Why, even Lenin said:

> "Liberty, needless to say, is a very, very vital slogan for any revolution, be it socialist or democratic."

We have also begun to speak of *ideals*, according to the new "French use of the word" in the united front movement of the youth. But is that idealism something that we must reject? No. The position is as follows: there are both reactionary and revolutionary ideals. The first have to be repudiated, but the second have to be raised high. Our *Soviet ideals* are materialist, Communist ideals which have to be carried to the vast masses of the youth and which have to be inculcated into the minds of the youth.

Facts show that the prestige of the Soviet Union is very great in capitalist countries, especially among the youth. But how weak we still

are in popularizing the great achievements of the Soviet Union! How weak we still are when it comes to depicting the bright future upfolding before the Soviet youth! Yet, it is one of the major political tasks of the youth movement to do that.

I have before me a speech delivered by a Soviet girl who finished high school last spring. Listen how she describes the position of the Soviet youth.

> "The doors to a joyful creative life are hospitably and wide open before us!
>
> "Engineers, turners, tractorists, agronomists, writers, chemists, electricians—they are all needed by my young beautiful, mother country!
>
> "Yes, the poet Mayakovsky was right when he said that: 'Their life is beautiful, and it is beautiful to live in this remarkable epoch in our magnificent country! Our contemporaries abroad never knew such splendid, full, sunny, joyful days as we enjoy today! . . .'
>
> "This opportunity of studying joyfully, buoyantly and well has been won for us by our fathers, our brothers, under the leadership of our great Communist Party, in the battles of October. . . .
>
> "Among us are not only future engineers, technicians, chemists, agronomists, Red Army commanders, aviators, tank commanders, among us there are also writers, poets, composers, sculptors; we have among us volley ball players, chess players, and splendid sportsmen! . . .
>
> "Why, we are the young masters of our Soviet land! Before us is the colossal task of subduing space and time!
>
> "We want to, must and shall live long, because Vladimir Ilyich placed the task before us of erecting Communist society. He said: 'It is precisely the youth who will have to build up Communist society! . . .'
>
> "Yes, we will explore, understand and discover all—from the frosty pole to the blue firmament! When the country tells us to be heroes, each of us will become a hero! . . .
>
> "Heroism in our country is not a simple senseless rush for glory. Our heroism lies in our daily serious struggle and work."

Try, comrades, to transmit this in the language of your countries, but without fail in the full blooded expressive language of the youth, and then you will see that a good deal more can be accomplished by that in our revolutionary agitation, than by quoting dry statistics.

* * *

Comrades, we at this Congress are all imbued with the firm belief that the new tactical turn outlined by Comrade Dimitroff with such force of conviction will help us achieve really great success in all spheres of our world movement, and certainly in our youth movement.

One thing is certain, comrades, *things will not take place automatically.* First of all, it is absolutely essential for the Communist Parties to offer the greatest possible aid to the youth movement.

All the Communist Parties and all of their leaders must understand once and for all that the youth movement is the *heart* of the movement for social emancipation. Our youth, our hope, is growing, but it can grow ten times as fast if the Party leaders really help them, if they offer real capable forces to assist the youth. Some leaders of our youth movement have in the last few years risen to the level of real leaders of the youth. But things will never go smoothly if the Party leaders, as now often happens, immediately take away from the Leagues any active Young Communist who demonstrates his capability as a worker in the youth movement.

Of course the Young Communist League is also a school where forces are trained for the Party. But a school from which all the capable teachers and leaders are removed is of no value. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, *another imperialist world war is approaching.* The most criminal of all criminal wars, a counter-revolutionary imperialist attack on the land of Soviets, on the fatherland of the workers of all countries, is under preparation.

And we know, as Comrade Stalin said, that this war will be the most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. But whom the gods want to destroy, they first make mad.

The dominant bourgeoisie is heading towards the most dangerous military adventure. In some countries it has already chosen its dumb and blind madcap adventurers as "leaders" and entrusted them with the helms of state.

Perhaps the German bourgeoisie have not deserved any better leaders, but, be that as it may, the world must be made safe against these madmen.

The leaders of the Japanese army are almost just as socially dangerous "apostles of peace" (as the famous General Araki called himself and his associates). Nor is sound political judgment at the helm of state in Poland. As to British imperialism, insatiable in conquests, it is ready to support, directly or indirectly, any government of adventurers in a war against the Land of the Soviets.

All of them are from various ends driving their people to another world slaughter. Hence the sharp danger of war.

But none of that frightens us. It imperatively demands, however, serious and energetic mobilization of the toiling population for resistance, for a struggle against the military preparations of the bourgeoisie. It requires that the millions of the youth be drawn into the united front.

How else will we be in a position to resist the imperialist war instigators?

We want to attack our class enemies from the rear if they start a war against the Soviet Union. But *how* can we do that if the majority of the toiling population is not with us, but is for instance, on the side of the clergy or the liberal chameleons?

We often repeat the slogan of converting imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie. In itself that is a very good slogan, but it may become a meaningless and harmful phrase if we do nothing serious

in advance in order to weld together a united front of the youth. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The situation demands a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times broader than our Party, and a united front of the youth a hundreds times as big. That this is quite possible in many countries is shown by the success of the French and American Young Communists.

Only if we get down to this work and carry it out as it should be, only if we achieve real important successes in this work, will we be able to say that we have prepared the masses in Bolshevik fashion for the eventuality of an imperialist war.

We also call upon the pacifist youth organizations to join our united front, but we must constantly educate the youth along the lines which Lenin taught us:

> "You will be given a rifle. Take it and learn well the military art. This science is essential for proletarians, not in order to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism advise you to do, but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, so as to put an end to exploitation, poverty and wars, not by means of pious wishes, but through victory over the bourgeoisie, through disarming the bourgeoisie." (*Stormy applause.*)

If our Parties and our youth fight against war in this spirit, then there is no doubt that the impending counter-revolutionary imperialist war will in a whole number of countries lead to revolution, and that by the end of the war, a certain Goering will not look better than did Van der Lubbe in Leipzig. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long Live the Bolshevik Youth!

Long Live Our Common Splendid Soviet Fatherland!

Long Live the Great Leader of the World Proletariat—Stalin!

(*Stormy prolonged applause, all rise, shouts of: "Red Front", "Hurrah", "Banzai", came from every part of the hall. Delegates sing their revolutionary songs: "The Young Guards", "Carmagnole", etc.*)

The Communist International Fights Together with the Toilers of the U.S.S.R. in Defense of Peace *

By ANDRE MARTY

WHY is it that the Communist International and the Soviet Union represent a mighty bulwark of peace?

Why does the Communist International fight for peace and why does it propose to exert all efforts to support it?

1. *Because war brings the toilers terrible suffering and devastation, while capitalism receives tremendous profits and super-profits from war.*

The war of 1914-18, as far as the workers and peasants were concerned, meant twenty millions killed, thirty millions crippled, poverty and ruin, while the Krupps and Schneiders, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and Vickers received thousands of millions in super-profits. Thus, for instance, in the United States of America in 1918, the explosives trust of Du Pont and Co. received as income from the war the sum of 1,246 million dollars, an increase of 1,130 per cent as compared with pre-war profits. A number of scandalous trials in all the capitalist countries, especially in France, Germany and the United States of America, have sufficiently convincingly shown that during the last World War when the soldiers were shot for fraternization, the exploiters for whom the soldiers were driven to the bloodbath, sold raw materials and machines to their enemies, when there were not sufficient of these materials to carry on the war further against their own country.

Is it not a fact that the Washington Senate Commission, established to investigate the war industry, discovered that the Skoda Works, controlled by Schneider, supplied arms and war munitions to Hitler with which to establish his dictatorship? Did not the same commission prove that Aircraft and Co., the Du Pont Company and others, are liberally supplying Hitler with airplanes and explosives? And has not the Suez Canal Co. now made the cynical calculation that the transport of 120,000 Italian troops brought it an additional profit of £90,000?

Hence, the fact that the shareholders of this company are interested in there being more soldiers killed in Ethiopia so that more troops will have to pass through the Canal, and so that in consequence their dividends will increase.

2. *War means military dictatorship over the country.*

It is precisely a dictatorship *over the entire country* and not only over several districts as in 1914-18. It is a firmly established fact that *the oncoming war will cover all countries.* The aerial bombardment of great industrial centers with gas bombs *will destroy the distinction that*

* Abbreviated stenogram of speech delivered at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

formerly existed between the civil population and the army, between the front and the rear.

Special laws are being introduced into France, whereby the civilian population is being militarized in peace times, and penalties are established for those who refuse to participate in military exercises against a possible attack from the air. Thus, this military dictatorship which was felt so heavily in the years 1914-18 will, in those countries where fascism is not yet in power, be operated by the general staff with the aid of armed fascist bands.

Imperialist war means the destruction of the relics of democratic liberties in those places where they still exist, the destruction of freedom of organization, assembly and the workers' press, which, as it is, are already limited. It means the destruction of all workers' organizations, and an open field of action for the fascists. It means that the exploitation and oppression of the working class is intensified to an unheard of degree. It means requisitions in the countryside. It means the establishment of a penal regime of servitude over the colonial peoples. By comparison with the regime of 1914-18, the oncoming war threatens to establish a regime of fascist license, torture and mass murder, a million times worse and more ferocious.

Therefore we, Communists, who are *ardent defenders of the remnants of democratic liberties* won by the working class after such a heavy struggle, are, as Comrade Dimitroff stressed yesterday, at the same time ardent defenders of peace.

As regards the countries where *there is a fascist dictatorship,* war there will mean real slavery for the toilers. It will bring a still further worsening of the regime, and will mean using up to the very limit the strength of those engaged in the munition works on war production.

3. *Who paid for and who is now paying for the cost of the world imperialist war of 1914-18?*

Those who were thrown into the bloodbath by the bourgeoisie and by the treachery of Social-Democracy. The toilers of the "victorious" as well as the "vanquished" countries are paying to this very day for the war, by reduced wages and unbearable taxation.

But it became possible for the capitalists, the "victors" as well as the "vanquished" whose dividends increased tremendously during the four years of the bloodbath, to invest colossal sums of money in new enterprises built according to the last word of technique, and in spite of the crisis they are now drawing tremendous profits.

Hence, in view of the fact that the Communists "have no other interests than those of the working class", they are the most consistent and boldest fighters for peace.

4. *Can the Communists desire imperialist war?*

For many years the Social-Democrats accused us of allegedly desiring war between the imperialist states, or even war against the Soviet Union, on the grounds that "war leads to revolution". As though the Communist Parties in *all* countries have it not to their credit that they have carried through militant campaigns directed against imperialist war!

As though the Communist International as a whole, which is itself the product of the struggle against war and anti-Soviet intervention, did not fight energetically and successfully for peace, especially in 1923 when the occupation of the Ruhr took place, and Europe found itself almost on the eve of war, while the Second International rejected our proposals for a united front struggle! The Social-Democrats have slandered us, as though our Communist Party in France has not achieved splendid successes in the anti-war struggle.

There are many in our Party, who during the last bloodbath, especially in 1917 and 1919, took part in and led big revolutionary strikes and the tremendous military uprisings of these Red years.

Our Party wrote the most glorious pages in its history, precisely in its struggle against war, following the instructions of the Comintern: in 1921 it fought against the calling up of "recruits" who "were to seize Germany by the throat"; in 1923, it fought against the occupation of the Ruhr, and in favor of fraternization with the German proletariat; in 1925, it took part in the organization of a general strike against the war in Morocco and Syria, and in favor of supporting the liberation movement of the peoples of Morocco and Syria; in the years 1927 to 1929, it fought against the anti-Soviet designs of the French reactionaries.

All these facts are a reply to the mercenary, lying inventions of all those who at each of the above-mentioned stages supported the imperialists of their own country. These facts are a reply to the lying inventions to the effect that we allegedly want war. It is sufficient to call to mind what our Party did in order to secure the fraternization between the French soldiers in the Ruhr with the toilers of Germany against the militarists, and the warmongers. On this account our entire Political Bureau headed by Marcel Cachin were arrested for "infringing the safety of the borders of the country".

There is no country in the world where the Communists have spared their strength, life or liberty in this struggle against the menace of imperialist war.

The U.S.S.R. is a leading force in the struggle for peace.

A handful of renegades, primarily the ill-fated Doriot, are attempting to attack the Soviet Union by advancing exactly the accusations against it that Hitler does. They accuse the Soviet Union of allegedly desiring war. In actual fact the economic and social structure of the Soviet Union is such that it cannot have any desire for any expansion or for wars of any kind.

By its socialist construction the U.S.S.R. is rendering help to the world proletariat, and the colonial peoples. This is why it has become the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world, a free federation to which the gaze of the oppressed peoples is directed. This is why it is so fiercely hated by the capitalists.

Ercoli yesterday reminded us of the decisive stages of this peace policy, of the manifesto issued to "all peoples and all combatant governments", published by the Second Congress of Soviets on the very eve of the seizure of power on November 7, 1917.

And has not the Soviet Union repeatedly given evidence of its will to peace?

The proletariat who are in power in the U.S.S.R. are interested in peace. They have no other interests. And the toiling masses throughout the world are also interested in this. The Soviet Union makes tremendous sacrifices in the cause of peace, even going so far as to sacrifice the lives of its best sons in its cause.

THE RELATIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND FRANCE

The present position of French imperialism.

Thus the main source of war in Europe is Hitler Germany, and the main center of peace is the Soviet Union, the land of socialism.

What is the position of the bourgeoisie of the French republic on the war danger?

The French bourgeoisie are not at the present time interested in war. Their victory in the world war made it possible for them to accumulate colossal wealth, and insured them a leading position in capitalist Europe.

At the present time, the French bourgeoisie are satisfied with what they have. They are not inclined to take any risks connected with a new war.

At the same time they remember that they defeated their German opponents after 52 months of war and after receiving serious support from the most powerful imperialist states. The French bourgeoisie recognize that it will be difficult for them to counterpose themselves to powerfully armed fascist Germany, the population of which is 50 per cent greater than that of France.

On the other hand, the ruling classes of France have noted the existence of the colossal power of the Soviet Union, which has become one of the most advanced industrial countries in the world, and has a corresponding military power. It desires to preserve peace and has proven this. The proletariat and the masses of the people of France are profoundly sympathetic to the land of the Soviets, and see in its policy the bulwark of general safety.

Is it not logical that the U.S.S.R., which stands for peace first and foremost, should immediately sign a mutual assistance pact with capitalist France?

SHOULD WE MAKE USE OF IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS?

Of course, if French bourgeoisie are interested in peace it follows quite other aims in this respect than does the Soviet Union. But why should not France support states which are interested in peace for other motives than its own? We, French Communists, are perfectly well aware that French imperialism has not in view the interests of the toiling masses, and that the object it has in view is merely to preserve its own power; but we are also perfectly well aware that the toiling masses of France and throughout the world consider peace as one of their most treasured blessings, and, therefore, our Political Bureau from the very beginning publicly declared in favor of the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact.

The toiling masses of France are enthusiastically following all that is taking place in the Soviet Union. Everything that has its source in the Land of the Soviets is of exceptional value for them. The successes of socialist construction rouse tremendous enthusiasm among them. They express their solidarity with the Soviet Union on every occasion. Thus, for instance, after the catastrophe that befell the "Maxim Gorky" airplane, the workers in many factories in the Paris district spontaneously organized collections to assist in building a new giant airplane, and within 48 hours the money collected was handed over to *l'Humanité*.

Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly explained to us that the Land of the Soviets was victorious in 1919 and 1920 for the following reasons:

a. As a result of the absolute loyalty of the workers and peasants to their own Soviet Power, and the heroism of the Red Army.

b. As a result of the help given by the international proletariat.

c. As a result of the contradictions between the imperialists.

Not a single worker would have understood the position had the U.S.S.R. begun to carry through a policy which united all its enemies into a single bloc against it. The proletarians are quite well aware, as Lenin stressed it, that a proletarian state must make use of the contradictions of the bourgeoisie of the various countries.

This is why the Soviet Union was perfectly correct when it signed the Mutual Assistance Pact with French imperialism.

Whatever doubts one may have as to how long these agreements will last, however doubtful their application by the bourgeois states in the event of an anti-Soviet war, *these agreements nonetheless represent a serious obstacle against the violation of peace.* Consequently they serve the interests of the international proletariat and the toilers of all countries.

The declaration made to Laval by Comrade Stalin on May 15 provided the excuse for a new fierce campaign directed against the agreement and also against the Communist International, against Comrade Stalin and the Communist Party of France.

The miserable renegade, Doriot, declared in an interview in the bourgeois paper, the *Petit Parisien* that:

> "It is still less permissible that the politics of a serious party should be determined by the political needs of some foreign state. I fear this alliance with Russia, for I think that Russia is interested, or imagines she is interested, in war, whereas we want peace. And if we want peace, we must seek for it with the aid of the most logical means, *i.e.*, through a Franco-German rapprochement.
>
> "This is a wise policy, which corresponds to the interests of the masses."

Thus, Doriot demands closer relations with the foul hangmen of the German proletariat, against the Soviet Union.

In view of the conclusion of the mutual assistance pact, the Soviet Union is, by the strength of its economic and military power, insuring the

safety of the French people and its defense against the aggression of the German fascists. It is therefore within its rights in expecting a similar response from the French government. Otherwise, the agreement which it has concluded will only be a trap to catch the toilers of the Soviet Union and of the whole world.

The main care of the toilers, and primarily of the middle classes, especially the numerous petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the peasants and intellectuals, is to ensure the safety of their country against the Hitlerite bandits.

But these very considerable sections of the population see that the great land of the Soviets, whose leaders have been accused of desiring a bloodbath, are determined to ensure peace by the whole of their economic and military power. The Soviet Union and its leading Bolshevik Party now stand before them in another light.

It is clear that the French Communists, whom certain people still consider to be barbarians and destroyers, gain from this. And now our campaigns and our slogans are meeting with a more sympathetic response.

We clearly stated this in the manifesto issued by our Central Committee in April, together with nine other Sections of the Comintern, in the following way:

> "In case of a counter-revolutionary war against the fatherland of socialism, *we will support the Red Army by all means in our power and will fight . . . for the defeat of any state which begins war against the Soviet Union.*"

This is the line which we shall always carry through.

This is why we have supported and continue to support the Mutual Assistance Pact signed in the interests of the defense of peace. *We French Communists cannot trust the bourgeoisie to observe this agreement.*

But precisely because we have been and continue to remain ardent defenders of the Mutual Assistance Pact, we are in no way inclined to believe that the French bourgeoisie will observe the agreement, and still less have we faith in the present French government. The agreements concluded by the French government in Rome have given a free hand to fascist Italy to carry on its activity in Ethiopia. Italy has been given guarantees that it may withdraw two divisions from its borders in the Alps. But peace is indivisible. Who does not understand that a new world war can arise out of war in Ethiopia? The French bourgeoisie, therefore, is not carrying through a peace policy on an international scale.

And this position shows that the Communists are by no means preparing to give up the complete independence of the working class, which we shall never lead in the direction of "sacred unity".

What guarantees have we got that the agreement will be observed and that the government will not yield to the pressure of the most chauvinistic and most reactionary elements who support an alliance with the

Hitlerites? Even if the government gives way or pretends that it is giving way to the pressure of the people, can we count on the agreement being observed by the General Staff whose press (*L'Action Francaise* and the *Echo de Paris*) are fiercely attacking the agreement?

We have no faith whatsoever in General Weygand, the honorary chairman of the "Fiery Cross" association, the head of the General Staff, and former adjutant to Marshal Foch, at the time when the latter called for a "crusade" against the land of the Soviets. Still less faith have we in General Denin, the Minister of Aviation, who does not let an opportunity slip by without publicly calling for fraternization with the fascist bands.

What guarantees have we got that the army will not be moved tomorrow against the fighting workers and peasants, as was the case in Belgium, Geneva or Asturias? The events in Brest on August 6 and the events in Toulon indicate that this can take place. What guarantees are there that they will cease to use the army to oppress and drown the enslaved colonial peoples in blood? There are none. That is why we vote against the tremendous war credits which are being voted at a time when there is poverty in France on a scale such as has not been known for 35 years.

We are convinced that the bourgeoisie are incapable of ensuring the safety of the country. This can only be achieved by the general arming of the people, by merging the army with the people.

This is why our Party sets itself, as one of its most urgent tasks, that of drawing *the army to the side of the people*, both in order to prevent the army being used against the people and so as to guarantee that the Franco-Soviet agreement is observed.

In face of the fascist menace in France, a menace which is growing rapidly, the question as to whose side the army is on, is now the source of big controversies. The fascists of the *L'Action Francaise* and of the Fiery Crosses are doubling their activity with a view to drawing the officers and soldiers to their side. So that this question is now one of the most urgent and immediate facing the toiling people and the Communist Party in the struggle against fascism and the war danger.

On the 7th of July, in agreement with the organizations arranging the people's demonstration of July 14, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, through its delegate, proposed at the anti-fascist meeting of the Paris districts that "soldiers' committees for the defense of the constitution and the republic" be organized so as to check the intrigues of the fascist organizations and officers in the army.

And at the anti-fascist meeting in Paris held July 14, the Radical deputy Rucart, in the name of all the organizations which had organized this meeting, sent its special greetings to the army, and called on it not to allow itself to be transformed into a "weapon of a minority of conspirators, and to stand on guard in defense of peace".

The attitude of the Communists to the capitalist army is well known. The Communists, as Lenin taught us, and this particularly was repeated in the thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, are against

refusal to undertake military service, against desertion. They do not refuse to undertake military service if mobilization takes place, even in case of a reactionary war. They join the army and attempt when there to learn how to obtain a good mastery of firearms, and carry on a struggle there against chauvinistic propaganda.

In the struggle to draw the army onto the side of the people there arises, directly connected with it, the task of winning the youth whom the fascists and reactionary elements attempt to subordinate to their influence from the very time they are still at school, while carrying on a ferocious drive against the anti-fascist teachers. The majority of the teachers in France are hostile to the fascists and are members of trade unions. Here is a splendid point of vantage for our activity in drawing the army onto the side of the people, and we must know how to utilize this point of vantage. Such is the main task which our Party sets itself.

The winning of the army for the people is the best guarantee that it will not be utilized against the people, the highest guarantee that we shall not return to the position of 1918 when the French army which penetrated into Germany at the time when the proletarian revolution broke out, dispersed the council of soldiers' deputies, as for instance in Mayence, and in 1919 when the French troops were sent against the Soviets in Hungary and Prussia.

Comrades of the German delegation, as far as we are concerned, if we win the army onto the side of the people it will be a guarantee that if, one fine day, the French army finds itself face to face with the Soviets in Germany, it will immediately end up in fraternization. (*Applause.*)

Of course, we understand quite well that it is only when the capitalist yoke has been overthrown that an end will be put to wars. But if we succeed in mobilizing the masses, we shall succeed in postponing and hindering the development of imperialist war, and primarily an offensive against the Soviet Union.

For the toilers throughout the world and particularly of France the prevention of such an offensive, and the undermining of such if it should begin, thus insuring the victory of the Red Army, is not participation in ordinary anti-capitalist action. The defense of the Soviet Union implies as far as the proletariat are concerned the defense of their future, and even of life itself. This is why we are setting all means into operation only to insure the success of this defense.

The experience of the past gives us the foundation for laying great hopes on the future. In the years 1918-20, the toilers of the land of the Soviets, and the workers' and peasants' Red Army beat off the onslaught of 14 imperialist states. The Red Army, partisans, and Red Guards displayed miracles of courage and heroism. But they learned military technique only in the course of the struggle. The Red Army frequently made use of out-of-date weapons of war. Their communications were primitive. There were interruptions in their supplies. The factories in the rear were almost completely disorganized by the imperialist war and civil war. The means of production, apart from this, were limited to the extreme. The rank-and-file Red Army men, the commanders and political

commissars as the soldiers once upon a time in the second year of the great French revolution, "went into battle with bare feet, but with songs on their lips and without fear in their hearts". It was in such conditions that our glorious Red Army defeated the enemy who were ten times more numerous, and defeated the foremost armies in the world. Why? Because the colossal influence of the October Revolution undermined the foundations of capitalism in all countries, and also undermined their armies which were composed of workers and peasants.

And all this took place at the time when actually there were still no Communist Parties in the capitalist countries! The proletarian revolution exerted its influence more by reason of its prestige than by concrete achievements, which at that time could still not be displayed. Now, however, the Soviet Union is a tremendous force. In the Soviet Union now there is an unheard of and undoubted tremendous advance in the well-being of the emancipated toiling masses.

Now there are Communists Parties in 65 countries, and many of them have had their baptism in the fire of tremendous heroic battles. A mass movement has now developed around the Communist Party of France, of such dimensions as has not existed since the time of the great French revolution. But it is precisely for this reason that a still heavier responsibility lies on every Communist Party and particularly on the Communist Party of France than at the end of the first round of wars and revolutions.

We know that the Red Army with full knowledge of its cause and with absolute self-sacrifice will fulfil its duty of defending its Socialist fatherland. It is important that we in the capitalist countries also succeed in fulfilling our heavy, very heavy task.

Armed with the decisions of the Seventh Congress and led and directed by our great Stalin, we shall redouble our efforts to overcome our mistakes as rapidly as possible so as to be prepared to win new positions which will ensure new victories for socialism!

(The delegates rise. Lengthy and stormy applause passing into an ovation.)

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the Struggle for the United Front*

By K. GOTTWALD

THE Seventh Congress has advanced to the center of the policy of the Communist Parties, the task of establishing united working class action and the people's front on a national and international scale against the capitalist offensive and fascism, and for peace and against imperialist war.

The entire work of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, and especially the report of Comrade Dimitroff have made it clear to everybody that *as far as we are concerned* no obstacles are to be met with in respect to the *immediate* establishment of united action by the working-class in each separate country and throughout the world, but that, on the contrary, we Communists are doing everything possible to overcome existing obstacles.

There are some people, and Comrade Dimitroff has aptly called them "political hens", who have got the idea that the Communists have allegedly given up their principles or are modifying them. These fanciful ideas can only give rise to laughter! The International, the leading party of which is building socialism over one-sixth of the globe while the capitalist world is becoming immersed in hopeless chaos, in medieval barbarism, —the International, whose guiding principles have splendidly withstood the test of history, especially in the period when all the systems, theories and tactics hostile to it have gone finally bankrupt, the International which is in fact fulfilling the teachings of the geniuses, Lenin and Stalin, such an International has no need to alter its principles in the slightest degree. If there is anything at all that we are altering, it is only the methods and forms by means of which we can, *in the conditions of a changed situation*, spread our basic principles still deeper among the masses and *establish united working class action so as to defeat our class enemies and pass over to an offensive against them.* And Messrs. the Capitalists will very likely soon feel this on their own necks.

And in Czechoslovakia, the work of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is attracting tremendous attention. And there is a very good reason for this! For in Czechoslovakia the question of achieving united workingclass action against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and for peace, and against imperialist war, is no less sharp than it is in other countries.

We must no longer waste a single moment of valuable time. Neither Hitler nor the Czech reactionaries are dreaming. Hitler is exerting every effort so as, with the aid of his agent in Czechoslovakia, the fascist "fatherland front", to achieve a rapprochement with the most reactionary circles of the Czech, Slovakian and Hungarian bourgeoisie.

* From the speech delivered at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

And his main aim is to alter the course of Czechoslovakian foreign policy and to transform Prague into a branch of fascist Berlin. The Czech fascists, the Preyses, Strshybirns, the reactionary elements of the Czech agrarian party and the clerical party, the Stoupals, Kiovks, and Stasheks; the Slovak and Hungarian reactionaries, the Chlinks and Estergazis—all of these elements are much troubled by the fact of the good relations existing between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The general hatred of these dark elements for all that is socialist, proletarian and of an advanced character leads them to consolidate their forces into a reactionary bloc which is striving towards the final enslavement of the toiling people of Czechoslovakia by means of a fascist dictatorship. And the question is as follows: *If Czechoslovakia is not to be drawn into fascist barbarism, or placed under the heel of fascist Germany, or drawn into a bloody war adventure, if the Czech people are not to be reduced to a new "White Hill",* and all the remaining nationalities in Czechoslovakia are not to be placed under the axe of Hitler, Horthy and Polish fascism, it is essential that unceasing work be carried on so that united working class action is established in Czechoslovakia in the shortest possible space of time and also that the broadest people's front of all anti-fascists, democrats and advanced elements is established, independent of what nation or party they belong to, a people's front to carry on the struggle for work, freedom and peace.*

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always fought and is now fighting to bring about such unity of action and such a united people's front of all anti-fascist and anti-war elements. This is necessary so that the toilers of Czechoslovakia may in this way establish the preconditions not only for successful resistance but also for the possibility of passing to the counter-offensive.

The reactionary leaders of the Socialist Parties of Czechoslovakia which are participating in the government, who are bringing about close, business collaboration with the bourgeoisie, have been and remain, to the detriment of the working class, the opponents of militant cooperation with the Communists. They have learnt nothing from the disastrous example of Germany. The mass of the rank and file members of the Socialist Parties take up a different attitude to this question. The lessons of Hitler's victory, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the example of the unanimous anti-fascist battles in Austria, Spain and France, have exerted tremendous influence over the masses of Social-Democratic workers in Czechoslovakia, and have strengthened their leanings towards the united front. And if, at the last parliamentary elections, Czech fascism did not succeed in strengthening its position to the extent to which it had counted, this is primarily due to the unity of the Czech workers, Socialist and Communist, achieved at the elections in the anti-fascist struggle. We can gladly state that the *Socialist youth* as a whole are beginning to come closer to the revolutionary workingclass youth, thus facilitating the establishment of united action by the proletariat.

* Reference is made to the battle at White Hill in 1625 when the Hapsburg troops defeated the Bohemian army led by the feudal Czech landowners, and thus put an end to the independence of the Czech nation.

How much more successfully could the toiling people of Czechoslovakia defend their interests against their class enemies, how much easier and quicker could the united front on a wide scale be established if the reactionary leading section of the leaders of the Socialist Parties in Czechoslovakia did not fight so stubbornly and so foully against their own workingclass members, against the efforts of the latter to establish the united front.

The enemies of the united front in Czechoslovakia feel that their "arguments" against the establishment of the united front are already losing their force. Proof of this is their restlessness in connection with the work of our Congress. They understand quite well that the decisions of our Seventh World Congress will serve as a powerful stimulus towards the speedy establishment of united workingclass action and of the antifascist people's front, on a national and international scale. Therefore they are again trying to dig up all the arguments which they have hitherto invented, so as to prevent the revolutionary vanguard coming closer to the remaining masses of the toilers in Czechoslovakia, and primarily the Czech toiling people. Articles and leading articles on this theme are appearing one after the other.

The central organ of the Czech Social-Democrats, the *Pravo Lidu* in a commentary on the speech made by Comrade Pieck at our Congress, wrote as follws:

> "Moscow is at last creating the possibility for a new and better form of cooperation between Social-Democracy and the Communists. It is doing away with the obstacles which we considered the primary ones in establishing united workingclass action in defense of democracy and peace, and against fascism." This is what the *Pravo Lidu* says!

It is true that the Communists of Czechoslovakia place no obstacles in the way of the united front, whether primary or secondary, so that they have no need at all to do away with such obstacles. But we shall not argue about this point. Neither shall we speak of the fact that the very same *Pravo Lidu* in the very statement where it notes that the "primary obstacles are being done away with", invents new, apparently secondary obstacles. We leave these slanders on one side. We shall keep to the positive remarks made by the paper we are quoting. You say that the main obstacles in the way of the establishment of the united front have been done away with. Very good, then we appeal to you once again from this tribunal with the proposal to begin negotiations without any delay. All the proposals, which we have repeatedly made to you, remain in force wholly and completely. We are prepared to begin negotiations immediately regarding these proposals. We are ready to begin negotiations also regarding proposals which you may make.

If you, in the *Pravo Lidu* of July 30, 1935, in an article headed "Not Only 'Against' But 'For' ", reproach us with allegedly always being "against" and never declaring ourselves "for" then this is an unjust reproach. The point is that we are by no means only "against", but are also "for", as the following shows.

We stand for establishing a fighting alliance with the Socialist Parties. Firstly, so as to place the burden of the economic crisis on the capitalists. We, for instance, are *in favor* of confiscating the 1,500 million crowns from the *Zivnostenska Bank* which it quite illegally accumulated when the devaluated Austrian money was annulled.

We are *in favor* of the compulsory sale of the goods of the capitalists who are in arrears in respect to tax payments to the extent of thousands of millions of crowns.

We are *in favor* of a tax being levied on all the thousands of millions of crowns in the stabilized funds of all the banking and limited liability companies, which have hitherto not been touched.

We are *in favor* of sequestrating the property and enterprises of those capitalists who desire to avoid paying taxes by closing the enterprises and throwing their workers on to the streets.

We are *in favor* of utilizing resources collected by means of severely taxing the rich, to organize work for the unemployed, to render immediate exceptional aid to the hungry German people and all the toiling people in general.

We are *in favor* of annulling the debts of the peasant poor and of the small handicraftsmen at the expense of the big landowners and banks. But, we, it is clear, are against reducing the wages of the workers, are against reducing unemployment benefits, against collecting arrears from peasants and handicraftsmen, and against speculation in articles of prime necessity.

Secondly, we are striving to establish militant collaboration with the Socialist Parties so as to bar the way to fascism. A joint struggle to place the burden of the crisis on the backs of the rich, which will show the workers, peasants, small handicraftsmen, toiling intellectuals, young people, and all the toiling population of the non-Czech nationalities that Socialist collaboration actually defends their social interests, will take the ground from underneath the fascist demagogues. Then neither the followers of Heinlein, Strshybirn, and Haid, nor any other fascists will succeed in catching anybody in their net.

Further, we are *in favor* of ridding the state apparatus and the army of fascist higher officials and officers, and providing soldiers with civil rights.

We are *in favor* of utilizing our joint struggle so as to prevent the fascists from taking control of the "Sokol" organizations, the "Shooters Leagues", the "Peasant Cavalry" and other such organizations.

We are *in favor* of jointly defending all the democratic rights of the toiling people, and of jointly carrying on a struggle to extend them.

We, of course, are *against* the working class organizations being disbanded, and are against the arrest of Communists and their being handed over to a fascist court.

And finally we strive to establish fighting unity with the Socialist Parties, so as to support peace and to prevent Czechoslovakia being handed over to be dealt with by Hitler.

We are *in favor* of the closest alliance between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.

We are *in favor* of consistent support for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

We are *in favor* of consistent support of the peace policy of the dencies which are striving to transform Prague into a branch of fascist Berlin.

And we, it is clear, are *against* people being subject to persecution for the mere fact that they cry "Long Live the Soviet Union!" whereas the Czech fascists who are carrying on negotiations with Hitler's agents, and go to pay their respects to Goebbels, are left unpunished.

As you see, our united front platform with the Socialist Parties is, in actual fact, in the highest degree a positive platform. It contains points not only "against" but also "for". And what is more, all these are points, the majority of which prior to the parliamentary elections were promised to the people not only by the Socialist Parties but also by the agrarians. What, then, can prevent our joint struggle to secure the operation of these and other points "for", in the interests of the toiling people?

It is evident that there is nothing other than the striving to protect the interests of the capitalists.

We, it is clear, do not agree with the Social Democratic assertions to the effect that the participation of the Social Democratic leaders in a bourgeois coalition government, as for instance is the case now in Czechoslovakia, is a guarantee against fascism. In this respect we make our starting point the experiences of other countries. However, we do not make it a condition of the united front with the Socialist Parties that they must give up their participation in such a government, and are ready to conclude a united front agreement with them, in spite of the fact that they are participating in the government, so as to carry on a struggle for the most important demands of the masses of the people. Without changing by one iota our attitude of principle as to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and as regards participation in a bourgeois coalition government, while not for a single moment giving up the effort to secure that the majority of the toilers accept this view, we say the following to those who still honestly believe in the Social Democratic leaders participating in a bourgeois government:

You are aware that we are not of your opinion as regards the advisibility of such a step. Well, have it your way. Now your ministers belong to the government. According to their own assertions they joined the government so as to defend the interests of the toiling people. And we, Communists, defend the interests of the toiling people. Then let us defend these interests together.

Let the Social Democratic ministers in the government propose measures whose purpose is to place at least part of the burden of the crisis on the backs of the capitalists.

Let the Social Democratic ministers in the government secure that the toiling people are not deprived of even part of their democratic rights.

Let the Social Democratic ministers propose to the government and secure the banning of the activities of the fascists, the agents of the reactionary circles of finance capital.

Let the Social Democratic ministers especially insist on the state apparatus and the army being rid of fascist high officials and officers, and on the rank and file soldiers being given full civil rights. We shall support every step, however insignificant it may be, in this direction, both in parliament and outside parliament.

There could be the following objections to this statement:

"The Social Democrats in the government, and the Social Democrats and Communists in parliament constitute a minority. The bourgeois parties in the government and in parliament will object to all these measures, and we will not be able to secure their fulfilment."

Our reply to this is that in such a case it is all the more necessary to have the united front of the working class from below, outside of parliament, in every enterprise, and in every town throughout the country. In such a case, it is more than ever necessary to call on the masses to undertake action so that those who are carrying on negotiations with the class enemy should be able with greater force to point out that the broad masses really stand behind the demands they put forward. For it is only the unanimous, mass action of the toilers that can exert such pressure on the class enemy, as to compel him to satisfy the various demands of the people irrespective of the quantitative relation between the seats held in parliament, or between the ministers in the government.

The leaders of the Czech Socialist Party, the party of Benes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as though in reply to the speeches made at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, have adopted a special resolution on the question of united front action by the working class. In this resolution they state that the Communists must first indicate their "attitude towards democracy". But the attitude of the Communists to democracy has long been known!

Everybody knows that we, Communists, are supporters of *Soviet* democracy, *proletarian* democracy which is the widest democracy as long as classes exist, and which more than any other corresponds to the interests of the toiling people. We are fighting for such democracy. But if fascism attacks bourgeois democracy, and lays its hands on the democratic rights which the latter has provided the toiling people, attained at the price of a heavy struggle, then we, of course, are for the defense of these democratic rights. And if you wish that we should call this "the defense of democracy", we shall do so! We shall not argue about titles!

"First explain your attitude to the republic", we are further told by the opponents of the united front, in the hope that they will render it difficult for the Socialist and Communist workers who are moving towards one another to come close together. But this question is clear!

We desire that the republic where the bourgeoisie now hold sway should be a *Soviet* republic, a socialist republic, where the toiling people hold sway. Such is our aim, and we are fighting for this. But if this *bourgeois-democratic* republic should be threatened by bloody fascism, then we shall defend this republic from fascism and we call on all real Socialists, Democrats and Republicans to establish a united fighting front so as to protect this republic from a tremendous disgrace, and the toiling

people from a tremendous catastrophe, from fascist dictatorship. And if we are decisively against handing over this republic to the *Czech* Hitler bands, then we are no less decisively determined against it falling under the whip of the German Hitlerites. In our struggle against both these groups, we will conclude an agreement with any one whatsoever in defense of the republic against the fascists, within and without the country. However, my dear sirs, the republic must make it possible for us to do so. It must provide complete freedom for the organization of the toilers, it must give freedom to the nationalities, it must give up persecuting the workers. It must give up imprisoning Communists and revolutionary workers. If the republic acts in the way it has done hitherto, it itself makes it impossible to secure its *defense*.

The Czech toilers are full of alarm for the fate of their national independence. We, Czech Communists, share this alarm. It is just for this reason that we tell the Czech workers, peasants, handicraft workers and toiling intellectuals the following:

Remember the history of your people! When was the Czech people at the height of its glory? During the time of the Hussites* it brought about a revolution, when it dealt in plebeian fashion with the Czech lords. (*Applause.*) Then the Czech people was invincible and filled the lords throughout Europe with fear. And when, on the contrary, did it sink as low as the shame of the defeat at the White Hill? After the victory of the counter-revolution, after the Czech people again fell into the clutches of the Czech lords, who reduced it to national enslavement? To prevent history from repeating itself, you must take the path which the Communists are showing you.

Don't believe those who want to convince you that the Communists are allegedly indifferent as to the national independence of the Czech people, that their policy allegedly leads to the loss of your national independence. Exactly the opposite is true. It is precisely the policy of the Czech bourgeoisie, of the highly placed Czech lords, the Preyses, the Hodas, the Strshybirns, which leads the people to a new "White Hill" defeat.

They try to convince you that when the Communists fight against the oppression of other peoples in Czechoslovakia, they thereby threaten the national independence of the Czechoslovakian people. They lie, brazenly lie. Who more than anybody else is helping Hitler, Horthy, and the Polish fascists? Those who are oppressing the toiling Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ukrainians, and Poles, those who deprive them of their rights and liberties. And it is the Czech bourgeoisie who are doing this, especially the most reactionary section of them. The Communists have declared a hundred times that they are against the linking up of even a single hamlet to Hitler's "Third Empire", to Horthy's Hungary, or to fascist Poland. And the best guarantee against the possibility of such a linking up will be the abolition of social and national oppression. To give the German, Slovakian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Polish population of Czechoslovakia bread, work, land and freedom, will mean the

* The followers of Huss, himself a follower of Wycliffe. A national revolutionary movement of the Czech peasantry and petty bourgeoisie in the fifteenth century directed in a religious garb against feudalism and the church.

creation of the strongest bulwark against the Hitlers, Horthys, and the Polish fascists. Is it not clear that the Czech people themselves are primarily interested in this?

Is it not clear, on the contrary, that the Czech bourgeoisie who support social and national oppression thereby betray the national interests of the Czech people? It is absolutely clear that this is the case.

Thus, from whatever side you approach it, everything points to the need and the possibility of establishing united working class action in Czechoslovakia. No arguments can be brought to justify the policy of the opponents of the united front, of those who, in the interests of collaboration and joint work with the bourgeoisie, support a split in the ranks of the working class.

Militant unity between the Communists and Socialists in Czechoslovakia would immediately raise the political importance and power of attraction of the working class. This would comprise about three million votes out of a total of about eight millions electors. It would mean one million workers organized in the trade unions. It would mean one million organized in the cooperative societies. It would mean hundreds of thousands of members in other working class organizations. And if, as the Communists propose, all the above-mentioned parties and organizations decided on the speedy unification of the trade unions, cooperative societies, and other mass organizations, then these organizations could become a center of attraction for all unorganized workers and for all those workers who for one reason or another have fallen for the bait offered by the employers and fascist organizations.

The united working class action thus achieved would exert a powerful influence over the peasantry, the small handicraft workers and the toiling intellectuals, over the rank and file members of the agrarian party, the people's party and the handicraft party (a party whose members are small traders and handicraftsmen—*Ed.*). Thus the foundation would be laid for the establishment of a broad people's front.

As always, especially when the desire of the Socialist workers and honest Democrats for establishing the united front increases, so on this occasion, the opponents of the united front in the leading bodies of the Socialist Parties in Czechoslovakia have brought to light their old argument to the effect that "the Communists should join the governmental coalition".

Can this proposal be seriously accepted? They "invite" us to join a government and at the same time put us behind prison bars, hunt after us and issue rewards to those who capture our comrades. They sentence our comrades to long terms of imprisonment. No, that is too thin! But we do not shirk a really serious discussion of the question of participation in a government.

Yes, the Communists are striving to bring about united working class action and a united people's front of all anti-fascists and all supporters of peace, not only so that the toiling people may be able to repulse the onslaughts of their class enemies, but also with a view to mustering all the forces of the toiling people for a powerful counter-attack. And if in the process of this counter-attack the position of the

bourgeoisie becomes so shaky and the position of the proletariat becomes so strong that the bourgeoisie are not in a position to cope with the masses who have come into movement *then it will be possible to raise the question of the establishment of a united front government or of a people's front government* of the character of which, and of the program and attitude of the Communists to which, Comrade Dimitroff spoke very exactly.

Comrades, we Communists of Czechoslovakia recognize the international responsibility that lies on us, who are surrounded by fascist states. We are doing everything to assure that the fascist wave does not overwhelm Czechoslovakia, that Czechoslovakia should be a stronghold of the anti-fascist and anti-war struggle in central Europe. We feel our close connection with the proletariat of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Poland, especially with our heroic German brother Party, and its leader, our Comrade Thaelmann. (*Stormy applause.*) Their cause is *our* cause, their struggle is *our* struggle. In making a common cause in the struggle, with our brother Communist Parties in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Poland, we are fighting not only to defend Prague against fascism, but also to help Berlin, Vienna, Budapest and Warsaw to emancipate themselves from fascist barbarism. (*Stormy applause. Cries of "Red Front!" "Hurrah!" Fighting slogans in all languages.*)

For the United Proletarian and People's Anti-Fascist Front *

By V. FLORIN

COMRADES, we are carrying on a fierce struggle against the war-mongers of the Hitler regime, and are trying to tear out of their hands the weapons which they are preparing before they can be directed against the heart of the toilers of Europe. If the German fascists are now chattering about the French Communists allegedly becoming imperialists and chauvinists on orders from Stalin, then Comrade Thorez in his speech has already given a suitable reply to this nonsense. Let the German bourgeoisie know that in case of a robber war by Hitler, you, French comrades, and we, German Communists, will aim at one object, namely, at smashing German fascism. (*Applause.*)

And let the German people know that just as ycu, French comrades, are fighting for their liberty, so are we, German Communists, and we shall no longer allow any imperialist robbers to oppress the German people. (*Applause.*)

Let Hitler know that in the struggle for freedom and peace we, Communists throughout the world, are the most ardent fighters.

The general dissatisfaction with the Hitler regime is being intensified, and is covering wide sections of the toiling population in town and country, who are becoming amendable to revolutionary influence Practically every measure undertaken by the Hitler government gives rise to dissatisfaction and frequently calls forth resistance. However, for the time being we have not yet succeeded in organizing the resistance of the masses on a wide scale.

The fascists are attempting to hold back this process of intensifying their national and social demagogy, and resorting to unloosening chauvinism and to an intensification of the terror against all opposition tendencies.

The extent to which the process of destroying the mass basis of the fascist dictatorship is speeded up, depends primarily on the development of the active energy of the proletariat, on the establishment of the proletarian united front. The main masses of the proletariat are hostile to the fascists, but their ranks are split and thereby weakened.

But a process is now taking place wherein the active sections of the proletariat are being gathered together and their ranks consolidated. Wide sections of the proletariat are already beginning to strive towards mass solidarity in the struggle against the employers and the Gestapo (secret police).

Comrades, we must note first and foremost that a gap exists between the general dissatisfaction, and the growth of confidence in the Com-

* Abridged stenogram of speech delivered at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

munist Party, on the one hand, and the ability of the Party really to develop the united front movement on a wide scale, with the aid of its organizational power, on the other hand. This is frequently conditioned by the terror used against the Party by its class enemy. In order to do away with this gap, what is needed first and foremost is that we develop and strengthen our organizations below in the process of carrying through the tasks which face us, what is necessary is that we establish capable leading bodies and achieve the maximum initiative from our lower organizations and leading bodies in establishing the united front.

Comrades, the main question of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the proletarian revolution in Germany depends on the establishment of correct relations between our Party and the masses of Social-Democrats and their organizations, relations which correspond to the new conditions.

In the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism, the united front policy in conformity with the correct general line of our Party, was directed, by means of a wide legal delegate movement, preparatory committees of struggle, and democratically elected unemployed committees, etc., to developing ever closer links with the masses of Social-Democrats against the will of their leaders, and with them to organize and carry through struggles (as for instance, the mighty strike in the Ruhr, the strike of the Berlin metal workers, etc.).

During the period of the Weimar republic, the German Social-Democrats became closely linked up with the state apparatus. This influenced the leaders of the lower organizations of the Social-Democratic Party, and linked them up and tied them by thousands of illusions to the policy of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, in our struggle for the united front, we had to begin work below, we had to begin by approaching individual members and rank-and-file officials of the Socialist Party of Germany.

What is more, in our task of establishing the united front, big weaknesses, defects and errors became manifest. In the last years, on the eve of the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, we underestimated the process of the development of the Hitler movement, *of the most reactionary fascist movement.* Comrade Dimitroff has quoted a number of examples to show which forces in our Party exerted quite a powerful influence on the Party's leadership by their incorrect views on the process of the development of fascism. We condemned the role of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party in the general process of fascization, to the working class supporters of Social-Democracy. But we did not make use of the growing contradictions between the leaders and rank and file of Social-Democracy in 1932, so that when the bourgeoisie prepared openly to alter its methods of rule, to come closer to the lower organizations and leaders of the Socialist Party of Germany. And therefore, our proposals to the Social-Democratic leaders of July 20, 1932, at the time of the *coup d'etat* in Prussia, remained without any response. It is precisely in view of this that the Social-Democratic Central Committee could allow itself to turn down our proposals. It did not exert a deep influence on our relations with the masses of Social-Democratic workers

and Social-Democratic and trade union organizations. It was this which influenced Comrade Thaelmann to make a demonstrative speech and to stress to our Party this extreme sectarian limitedness and narrowness displayed in our policy.

We took insufficient account of the lessons of July 20, which underlined the necessity of taking into account the more and more changing conditions, and of ever bolder approaching the rank-and-file organizations of the Socialist Party of Germany again and again. When the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany forbade its lower organizations from concluding any agreements whatsoever with the Communist Party of Germany, fundamentally we utilized this prohibition merely so as to expose the Social-Democratic leaders, in our agitation.

Comrades, Social-Democracy in Germany has now been driven out of the State apparatus by the most reactionary, chauvinistic elements of finance capital; it is now being persecuted, and like ourselves, has been driven underground, and thereby its privileges have been destroyed.

Therefore, now, when an entirely new situation has come into being, when powerful changes have taken place and are taking place in the ideology of the Social-Democratic officials and Social-Democratic masses, we must again and again appeal to these Social-Democratic organizations and their leaders to establish a united front, and strive to bring about joint action and the conclusion of short-term and long-term agreements for united front action. Such is the application of the united front tactics in a new fashion, which we in the Communist Party of Germany have insufficiently worked out and insufficiently explained to our Party as a whole.

Our sectarian mistakes in the period after the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship consisted in that we transferred our correct estimate of Social-Democracy of the Weimar period, when it was linked up with the State apparatus, to the period when Social-Democracy has been driven underground and when decisive changes have become evident in the ranks of the Social-Democrats and their officials. Here there could be seen two sides of one and the same sectarianism.

On the one hand, there was an underestimation of the real process of the movement to the Left, especially of the Social-Democratic officials, an underestimation which led us to adopt the view that it was allegedly impossible to establish the united front on a broad scale. In the same way, we, as the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, incorrectly estimated the process of differentiation going on in the upper ranks of the Social-Democratic Party.

On the other hand, we overestimated this process of the movement to the Left, which gave rise to the view that the masses of Social-Democrats under the heavy blows of the dictatorship would allegedly, very speedily and automatically break with their entire past, with the Social-Democratic Party, and would come to Communism.

Hence there followed our mistaken tactics, of occupying ourselves mainly with the propaganda of our revolutionary teachings.

We considered that we could hinder the re-establishment of the Social-Democratic Party, by winning to our side first and foremost the

most active and most Left elements. We underestimated the entire strength of the contacts of the masses of the Social-Democratic workers with their organizations which had been destroyed by fascism. They were still connected ideologically with their organization.

We did not see that after a certain period in which they felt crushed, the Social-Democratic workers, the active members and members of the imperial flag organization, etc., once again began to organize. And we did not set the question of the united front before these organizations.

We were absolutely correct in taking note of all the reactionary declarations made by the Prague leadership of the Socialist Party of Germany. We condemned and exposed their hopes of a new coalition with the bourgeoisie, and their calculations of establishing contacts with Reichswehr circles, and their attacks against the Communist Party of Germany and the Soviet Union. But we brought forward the refusal of the Prague leaders to establish the united front and their fawning to the fascist dictatorship, as proof that Social-Democracy as such has not changed. But we did not take sufficient account of the fact that in the ranks of Social-Democracy, including the officials, a process of movement towards revolution had begun, from top to bottom. This was expressed, for instance, in the recognition in principle by the active section of the Social-Democratic workers and officials, of the necessity for the united front and the dictatorship of the proletariat, although they did not as yet clearly see the forms and the content of the dictatorship. Many examples could be quoted covering very recent times when Social-Democratic officials, who still have influence over the masses, openly declare in favor of a united front with the Communists. This shows how wide are the possibilities in Germany.

As a result of the propaganda of our revolutionary teachings, we, of course, won and rallied to our side thousands of splendid fighters from the Social-Democratic camp. But as a result of the sectarian narrowness of our united front policy, we did not aim at winning the main core, the decisive sections of the Social-Democratic workers and officials.

We can note certain primary successes already achieved as a result of carrying into life the January resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, which condemned sectarianism as the main obstacle in the way of winning the masses. I stress the point that the January resolution preserves its importance as the guiding line of our entire mass work in establishing the united proletarian front.

At that time we noted the fact that sectarianism especially clearly showed itself in resistance to the development of the united front on a broad scale, in resistance to re-establishing the free trade unions, and in an approach which made no distinctions between Left and Right Social-Democratic functionaries and leaders, in an allegedly radical estimate of the situation, in an underestimation of self-criticism.

Now, we have already proceeded to render decisive assistance to the Left and revolutionary elements in the Social-Democratic organizations, to the rank-and-file Social-Democratic workers and officials, who declare in favor of united action, in their struggle against the Right elements

of the Prague leadership, for a militant united front with the Communists.

But our mass work would only be hindered by the assertion that we have allegedly in such a small period succeeded in overcoming the sectarianism which penetrated our Party over a whole period of time.

In our work, the view has been expressed that the anti-fascist expression of opinion of the masses of workers during the election to the "Confidence Councils" must already be considered as the united front on a broad scale, as the united front actually in practice. But such a statement of the question can only hinder our work of establishing an organized united front and bringing about a solid anti-fascist struggle. Here it is important to develop further every agreement, however simple, concluded with regard to every individual case, between the Communists and Social-Democratic workers, by systematic and purposeful activity, striving to pass from simple to the highest forms of the united front. In certain factories in various departments such free collaboration has been brought about in its most simple form. This has led as a result to definite successes in establishing united action.

A series of pacts and agreements, a series of united front committees, direct collaboration between all working class organizations, such is the application of the united front tactics in the new fashion, for which we are striving.

We can note the fact that the distinguishing feature of the agreements concluded in the recent period regarding the united front in Germany is their greater concreteness than previously. In the process of really carrying through these agreements by our joint forces, let the Social-Democratic workers convince themselves how seriously we take this common cause.

There can be no doubt that we can liberate the Social-Democratic workers from the influence of the Social-Democratic reactionary leaders only if we succeed in seizing hold of those links from which agreement can arise. Such an agreement can arise for the joint struggle against wage cuts, against the worsening of conditions of labor, for the joint struggle to re-establish the free trade unions, in jointly organizing proletarian solidarity against the bloody fascist terror, etc. But this unity, this agreement, only assumes a really wide organizational form and strength in the united front, when it is brought about on the basis of agreement between the Social-Democratic and our own organization. And it is toward this that we Communists must aim.

We Communists, with our considerable experience in conspiracy, must take complete responsibility on ourselves for securing to a maximum degree the defense of the united front bodies against the repressive measures of our class enemies. This is very important if we are to increase the mutual confidence between ourselves and the Social-Democratic workers.

Comrades, on the basis of self-criticism, we openly declare our mistakes, defects and weak sides in our anti-fascist struggle and in our united front policy. And we want all Social-Democratic workers and officials to know of this self-criticism. Let them convince themselves of

the seriousness of our striving for the united front, and let them on their part try to overcome all the obstacles that stand in the way of this in their own ranks.

Comrades, we see that the process of the movement of the Social-Democratic workers towards revolution has moved very far forward, particularly in the last period, in face of the sharpening of the war danger, and of the intensified bestial terror of the National-Socialists, and under the influence of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and our united front policy. We can take note of the point that the Prague leaders of the Social-Democrats, under the influence of the sentiments of the masses of workers in Germany itself, and also under the influence of the considerable successes achieved by our French brother Party, in operating the united front tactics, which have given rise to a differentiation in the Second International, have been compelled to a certain extent to change their former position on a number of important questions.

Judging by the present line of the German Social-Democratic press, we can, I think, conclude that more favorable possibilities are opening up for the establishment of joint united front agreements against the fascist hangman terror.

In the fact that those elements of German Social-Democracy who have never hidden their hostility to the united front and the Communists and the U.S.S.R., and never hid their readiness to form a coalition with the bourgeoisie, are now being forced to the rear, we see proof of the growth of those forces which are facilitating the establishment of the proletarian united front.

In these conditions, from this platform of the international proletariat, we *again appeal to the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and to everyone of its members, to conclude a united front with us, Communists, even if, at the beginning, it is only for a joint struggle against the terror.*

Many Social-Democratic workers, and Left officials who have formed the "revolutionary Socialists" group say that "we must establish a united party". Hitherto we have not given a satisfactory reply to this question. We must give a positive answer to this question, and in all seriousness declare that we are hearty supporters of the establishment of a united party of the proletariat, and supporters of the abolition of the split in the ranks of the working class movement. Comrade Dimitroff has here pointed out the conditions and circumstances under which such a party can be established. The establishment of the united front is a serious step on the road to achieving organizational unity.

If the central question of the united front may be reduced to our relations with the Social-Democrats, we nonetheless do not limit the united front merely to agreement with Social-Democracy. We are also striving to bring about a united front with the Catholic workers' societies, and with the Christian trade unions, which partially still maintain contacts with one another.

The fascists wish to destroy these Catholic organizations and by this means to still further weaken the proletariat as a whole. We must also conclude concrete agreements with the Catholic comrades as regards

the defense of the semi-religious working class organizations. And if in spite of the struggle, we do not succeed in preserving their legal existence, then we must propose to these workers that they join with us so as to undertake an organized struggle within the fascist organizations.

We must note the fact that oppositional and frequently militant sentiments are developing and extending among the young people in Germany. All the preconditions exist for the establishment of a broad movement of the youth covering all elements dissatisfied with the declaration. The new and central task facing the Communist Party, and the Young Communist League in the sphere of work among the youth, is to establish and develop this movement from below, and by negotiations at the top, to carry on planful and systematic activity within all the organizations which cover the youth.

If such activity is developed on a broad scale, the Young Communist League will be able, as the moving force, to strengthen its own organizations and to improve the illegal form of its activity on the basis of the wide movement of the youth.

The Young Communist League must adapt its language and its organizational forms to this political line. The main organizational form of the Young Communist League in Germany is the nucleus inside the fascist mass organizations along with factory nuclei.

Among the Social-Democratic workers, as among the young people who are oppositionally inclined, there is generally speaking, a sectarian attitude towards work inside the fascist mass organizations. All the more must we strive to outlive such a sectarian line in our own ranks.

In the last years of our legal existence, prior to the advent of Hitler to power, we carried on our work inside the reformist unions in a weak fashion and partly incorrectly. Although Comrade Thaelmann constantly stressed the necessity of carrying on work inside the reformist trade unions, and fought against all sectarian distortions in the policy of the revolutionary trade union opposition, we nonetheless did not succeed in achieving a really serious improvement in the way we carried on our work inside the reformist trade unions. When these unions were forcibly seized by fascism, and unified and included in the "labor front", we again found ourselves in the position of being like observers. Many of our comrades considered work inside the "labor front" to be unworthy of Communists, being of the opinion that the workers would consider them to be traitors to the cause of the working class. When the fascists compelled the Communists in many factories to join the "labor front", the Communists sabotaged the meetings organized by the "labor front" or, if they attended these meetings, they kept a stubborn silence so as in this way to demonstrate their hatred and contempt for it. But as a result of all this we only let slip by the possibility of influencing the masses organized in the "labor front", whereas the fascists systematically carried on a ferocious campaign among these masses in the attempt to rouse in them all kinds of chauvinistic and nationalistic prejudices.

In Germany we are giving publicity to the slogan of the "re-establishment of the free trade unions". We are organizing this re-establishment of the unions, and some successes are already to be seen.

However, the speed at which this re-establishment of the unions is taking place in the difficult underground conditions, is hindered by the absence of a united front on a broad scale. And it is becoming clear taking place in the difficult underground conditions is hindered by the and foremost on one point, namely, joint mass work within the fascist mass organizations. However, if we are to get this work going, we must throw on one side all formulations which keep us half way, in other words we must cast on one side all formulations that keep us at the tail of events. For instance, hitherto we have not been decisive in declaring the need for making use of legal and semi-legal possibilities, instead of openly and boldly declaring that work within the fascist mass organizations must be our main method of work.

I am convinced that if we were to succeed in placing our supporters in the German army at thousands of posts as non-commissioned officers, our supporters would not hesitate for a single day. Why, then, do we still not make up our minds to carry on real and sound struggle to occupy the lower posts in the fascist mass organizations? And in this respect we must also throw to one side formulations which have hitherto limited and tied up our activity.

Comrade Dimitroff has already stated that the Right danger will grow, with the application of the united front tactics on a wide scale. But we must not out of fear of the Right danger delay in carrying through a correct policy. When you know that the Right danger may come to the surface and when our Party is on guard, then this danger to a certain degree declines.

It is shown, with good foundation, in the thesis on the report of Comrade Dimitroff, that it is precisely the developed policy of the united front which presupposes and demands an intensification of the ideological struggle against reformism. Our Party must learn how to combine untiring propaganda of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, with the ability to transform these teachings into life in the process of operating the united front and people's front policy.

At the same time as our Congress is in session, the fascists in Germany, in view of the growing dissatisfaction of the masses and the sharpening of the disagreements in the camp of the bourgeoisie, have been compelled to mask their anti-people's policy by warning reaction which has allegedly been crushed and wants to raise its head anew.

However, this anti-capitalist phraseology will become a dangerous and vulnerable spot in the fascist regime, if we succeed, in our work inside the fascist mass organizations themselves, in directing this phraseology against the fascists themselves. To limit ourselves to exposing the fascists from without is equal to sectarianism, self-limitation and a rejection of the utilization of the possibilities of work among the masses.

Our enemies themselves are giving us weapons for the development of the united front on a broad scale, if we direct the anti-capitalist demagogy of the fascists against themselves on concrete day-to-day questions.

The anti-capitalist phraseology of the fascists is augmented by a widely developed and very flexible social demagogy. The "power in joy" organization, "winter aid", the "beautification of the workshop".

the factory reviews, and courts of honor, all are ways and means of putting across this social demagogy.

But in this regard, also, it is not sufficient simply to brand these demagogic weapons as deceit and trickery, but we must make use of them as a lever to develop the activity of the workers.

But such methods of struggle cannot be carried on at all from outside, but can only be developed within the fascist mass organizations. In this case, if we give our activity an objective, we can transform these methods of social demagogy quickly, one after the other, from factors of deception and trickery into factors of the class struggle.

I quote three examples: The fascists carried through an advertising campaign favoring marriages and began to make payments to the newly married. Instead of demanding that these payments should be given to all people getting married, that the payments should be increased, that loans should be provided without the payment of interest, we frequently wrote that this was simply deception and trickery.

The "labor front" organizes excursions during the holidays for an insignificant number of workers, so as to bribe this narrow section of workers, and also to give rise to corresponding illusions among the masses of workers. Instead of popularizing the demand that all workers should receive an adequate holiday with pay, and free passes to sanatoria and money allowances, our newspapers frequently limited themselves to stating the fact that this method, don't you see, is simple social deception.

The fascists all of a sudden began a campaign to beautify the workshops. Instead of utilizing this campaign to get the workers to advance systematic demands, we merely limited ourselves to laughing to scorn this method of fascist social demagogy.

Social demagogy is the *weapon* which the fascists constantly make use of in the struggle against our class, in their effort to disarm the proletariat. Let us, then, strive to secure that the social demagogic shots fired by the fascists should rebound back onto the fascists themselves.

The main line of our struggle against the social demagogy of fascism must be the *utilization* of this social demagogy so as to arouse the wants of the masses, to formulate the needs and requirements of the masses, and to lead them to the struggle for their own demands.

Chauvinism covers not only wide sections of supporters of the fascist regime but also a section of the working class, although class contradictions, exploitation and oppression, hinder chauvinism taking firm root.

It depends on our work whether the masses recognize the real features of chauvinism behind the smokescreen which covers it, and whether they show themselves completely immune to this chauvinistic calumny. Dissatisfaction and lack of faith are still no guarantee against this if we have no clarity and understanding as to where the blow must be directed.

We must carry on a struggle against chauvinsm in all the ways and shades in which it displays itself. The *first precondition* for this is that we insistently expose the fascist perspective of a war catastrophe.

The *second precondition* makes it incumbent upon us Communists to root out the widely spread Social-Democratic theory in Germany, to the effect that fascism can allegedly only be crushed in connection with war and with aid from without, for this theory only leads to the workers with revolutionary impatience even desiring that a war should speedily break out, and therefore, not carrying on a sufficiently serious struggle against the fascist warmongers and the chauvinist poisoning of the masses. The *third precondition* is that our Party must not forget the need again and again to expose the dangerous sides of the diplomatic double-dealings of the fascist leaders, which are so clearly expressed in the contradiction between the declarations of the fascist leaders regarding their love for peace and the open propaganda for war carried on by the lower bribed bureaucrats.

Making our starting point the day-to-day needs and the ever growing strivings of the masses for democratic liberties, we must direct the sentiments of the masses through tens of thousands of channels to one and the same point, lead them in one and the same direction, namely, to the struggle for democratic liberties.

This is the main link in the chain which we must seize hold of in our struggle to overthrow the Hitler dictatorship. And we cannot avoid this stage of the struggle. If we are to legalize this struggle it means that we must introduce it into all the mass organizations of fascism. Such is the *path* which leads to the anti-fascist people's front.

Comrades, on every occasion when the difficulties facing the fascist regime increase, when the toiling people express their dissatisfaction in the most varied forms, when dissensions increase inside the "totalitarian" fascist party, this is accompanied by savage anti-Jewish pogroms. The fascists wish by this means to fill the population with fear, and to bring about their complete submission. The anti-Jewish pogroms are organized and led by the National Socialist Party organizations and state institutions, and in this connection the will of the people is distorted.

We Communists as friends of all the oppressed—and consequently of the German Jews as well—have recently been able on repeated occasions to organize direct resistance to these pogroms, and we have met with widespread solidarity from all decent people. The struggle against the wild anti-Jewish pogroms must be energetically supported by the solidarity of all humane people throughout the world.

Comrades, fascism in Germany, which came to power on the backs of the petty bourgeoisie, hid its real face under the mask of being the representative of the petty bourgeoisie. On this basis, Social-Democracy concluded that fascism was the movement of the middle sections of the population, while Comrade Remmelle came to the conclusion that fascism is the power of the lumpen proletariat.

The petty bourgeoisie counted on saving themselves from the gigantic process of sliding down into the ranks of the proletariat, thanks to the victory of Hitler.

But the conditions of the petty bourgeoisie under fascism continue to grow worse. The petty bourgeoisie are profoundly disappointed, and

partially are even disillusioned, and therefore are seeking for a new line of conduct. We must give them this line of conduct.

We must note that there are very big defects yet in this sphere of our work. We have announced the slogan of the anti-fascist people's front, but we are far from having developed it to apply to the concrete position facing us today, and to the various sections of the toilers.

If we formerly limited ourselves to asserting that monopoly capital destroys the petty bourgeoisie and drives them into the ranks of the lumpen proletariat, in so far as we spoke about this at all, now on the other hand, we must place the question in a positive form. That is to say, we must declare that we Communists wish to prevent you peasants, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and intellectuals, from slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat and even lumpen proletariat, because it is not in the interests of the proletariat.

We want to save you from this fall, by the joint struggle for a new and real advance. Engels once said that "the more peasants we prevent from falling into the ranks of the proletariat and whom we draw onto our side while they are still peasants, the quicker and easier will the social transformation take place". (Engels, *The Peasant War in France and Germany.*)

Hitler declared in the Reichstag that we Communists allegedly are for lack of culture and equalitarianism. In reply to this lie we quote the example of the Soviet Union where the peasants and workers have achieved a comfortable and cultured life, and where the individual creative powers of each person are being stimulated and widely developed.

We will not allow this dissatisfaction to be seized by these groups of the big bourgeoisie who are oppositionally inclined, and used again in the interests of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. To achieve this we will in fact bring about the alliance of the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie against the financial magnates. This is the basic problem of the policy of the people's front.

The power of influence emanating from the proletarian united front will be the force of attraction which attracts the middle sections of the toiling masses. Our brother French Party has given us an example of how to fight for the establishment of the people's front. It is not only with great interest that we follow the development of this movement in France, but we can say to the representatives of our brother Party who are present here that the influence of their successes facilitates corresponding work in Germany. Certain Social-Democratic leaders in Germany have declared against the united front on the grounds that it allegedly drives away the middle classes. But in France the united front has shown just the opposite.

The united front achieved hitherto in different parts of Germany can, by successfully applying the policy of the people's front, lead to the establishment of a united front on an all-German scale. We must boldly come closer to all the oppositional organizations hostile to the fascist regime, which cover workers and toilers. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany is thinking of adopting similar steps from above.

We must convince the millions of Catholics whose rights and interests have been dealt a decisive blow (the prohibition of the Catholic youth organizations, the persecution of the Catholic press, and the Catholic trade societies and clergy) that we stand on their side in their struggle against fascist repressions and violence. In this connection we must throw on one side all narrowness and all the limited formulations of the freethinkers' movement.

Without a correct approach to the questions of the church conflict and the Catholic opposition, the establishment of a broad anti-fascist front in Germany is impossible.

If we do not succeed in extending this struggle of the men, women and young people who are members of the Catholic organizations, beyond the bounds of conflicts as to creed, and to direct the movement towards the political aim of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, then this movement can become split up and only the Hitlers, Rosenbergs and Streichers can gain from this. This is why the Communists must develop connection with the masses of Catholics.

We have not yet succeeded, in the conditions of the Hitler dictatorship, in developing mass work among the very wide sections of the intermediary sections of the German peasantry, although the measures of the fascist dictatorship have given rise to ferment among the peasantry, and though our brother Polish Party has by its successful policy among the peasantry given us a number of examples, and clear indications as to what should be done.

It is tremendously important for the development of the people's front in Germany and the winning of wide sections of the middle class, intellectuals, etc., to our side, that we convince them that we are mastering, defending and further developing not only all that was positive in the heritage of the old revolutionary Social-Democracy and Second International, but all the valuable heritage of bourgeois culture. In this respect we have something to learn from our French comrades as how to revive revolutionary traditions. Even in the most difficult illegal conditions we must show the intellectuals, scientists and artists, that we, who are fighting for the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat, are at the same time the best fighters for culture and progress.

To give the toiling masses in Germany, weighted down by the yoke of the fascist regime, real perspectives, we Communists declare:

First, we are ready to march besides all those people who are striving to alter the fascist form of domination, to overthrow the National-Socialist government;

Second, we seek an alliance with all sections of the population and organizations which desire to muster their forces in an anti-fascist people's front for the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship;

Third, we with all our strength are striving to establish the closest united front with all those working class organizations which desire the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The immediate aim around which we can gather and raise all those who are not prepared to go further is the struggle for democratic rights and liberties of the people.

The fascist terror gives rise to an elementary feeling of solidarity among the masses. This feeling, this striving for mutual support, is an important starting point for the policy of the united and people's front.

In spite of the propaganda of bestial chauvinism, the majority of the people are now striving to preserve peace. This is another important starting point in the establishment of the united people's front.

We must show the masses of Germany the way to achieve democratic liberties. We must show them what these democratic liberties will consist of, and how they must be secured. And in this connection we Communists frequently commit a very profound and decisive mistake. Frequently, at an unsuitable moment, we try to transform the strategic slogan of our Party and of our class, the slogan of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", into the central slogan of action for the entire people.

It can be put forward now in Germany as a strategic slogan among the proletariat in those places where we are carrying on a discussion with the Social-Democratic workers and officials regarding the principles of the class struggle. Decisive importance is assumed by the flexibility of the tactics of the people's front against fascism and the utilization of the disagreements in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. We, for instance, address the population of Danzig as follows:

> "We Communists stand for collaboration and a joint struggle of all those who are against the fascist senate. If, by means of such a fighting front in a plebiscite, the government is overthrown, then we will support all the measures of the new government which correspond to the interests of the people."

To the Social-Democrats and Catholic Party, the Center Party, and all groupings in Danzig who are oppositionally inclined, we declare that we will do everything possible to conclude an anti-fascist people's front with their organizations in Danzig. We are prepared to introduce proposals for a joint fighting program of demands. In case we achieve agreement, and a people's front against the fascists is established on a broad scale, and the militant movement assumes the necessary force, then we, depending on the circumstances, will declare ourselves for the slogan of a government of the anti-fascist people's front.

We consider that there we can in approximately this shape give the answer to the question as to what direction we in Germany must develop our policy of the anti-fascist people's fighting front for the overthrow of the Hitler government.

Comrades, we sometimes hear the abstract arguments regarding the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. According to one point of view, the capitalist system will collapse with fascism. Our aim is to achieve this. However, we cannot consider in advance that this is our only possibility. This would narrow the base of the people's front policy.

Another point of view is to the effect that after the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship there will inevitably be a sort of Kerensky period. This is equally incorrect. There is a danger in this obdurate point of view of the rejection of a real revolutionary line of action, a danger of covering up our class line, and of forgetting that the intermediary

sections of the population must be our allies when we overthrow capitalism as well.

We must strive for the first perspective, while not leaving the second one out of account.

This demands the use of great flexibility in our tactics, but at the same time firm principles in fulfilling our tasks. In the struggle for the united front and the people's front, we must not leave any place for unclarity as regards the role of the Communists in the united front and also as regards the role of the working class as the leading force in the united people's front.

Many comrades at this Congress have reported and referred to the heroism of our comrades in various countries. And even bloody German fascism has been compelled with secret fury to recognize this heroism. We shall do everything in our power to extend the narrow bounds of our illegal work, and direct this heroism to the development of mass work on a wide scale.

To arm the Communist Party of Germany for this great cause, for the carrying through of this political line, we must create the guarantee that it will be successfully carried through from top to bottom. I see these conditions in the unity of the political line, in collectively overcoming our mistakes and weaknesses, in the Stalinist style of work, under which the selection and distribution of Party workers are subordinated to the fundamental nature of our tasks, in loving care of our Party forces, which helps them to overcome their mistakes and to advance.

We know that this political line corresponds to the spirit and desires of Thaelmann.

In the difficult situation in which we are, we have to carry through this policy in the absence of our leader. Comrade Thaelmann educated our Party in the proud consciousness of the fact that, whatever the difficulties, the Communist Party of Germany will always find the best help and advice in the Communist International.

Fascism has directed all its hatred precisely against this cornerstone of our internationalism.

We are proud of the victorious defense made by Dimitroff of the honor of our Party at the Leipzig trial. We are proud of the fact that the Communist International elected Ernst Thaelmann, who is in the hands of our enemy, as honorary chairman of the Seventh World Congress. We are proud of our solidarity in the monolithic ranks of the Communist International, and of the singleness of purpose of the entire Communist International and the great leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries and the Tactics of the Communist Parties *

By WANG MING

COMRADES, in connection with the growing imperialist offensive on the colonial and dependent countries, and the growth of the national-liberation movements of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, the question of the anti-imperialist united front in all colonial and semi-colonial countries acquires exceptional importance, as was correctly pointed out by Comrade Dimitroff.

Some people think that once the Soviet revolution in China has already achieved victory over considerable sections of the territory of the country and the class struggle has sharpened to an unusual degree, the question of the anti-imperialist people's front no longer has any significance or is of no special importance. This is a crude mistake. The facts point to just the contrary. The facts have already shown and show now that in contemporary China the question of the anti-imperialist people's front is not only of first rate importance, but I would say of decisive significance.

This is to be explained by the fact that China is undergoing an *unprecedented national crisis.* This unprecedented national crisis is the result first and foremost of the growing military, political and economic expansion of Japanese imperialism, and the unexampled, the most disgraceful national treachery of the Kuomintang. During the time that has passed since the Manchurian events of 1931, that is, less than four years ago, almost half of the territory of China has been partly occupied by Japanese imperialism, and is partly virtually under the iron heel of the Japanese militarists.

After Manchuria, Jehol, after Jehol, the zone of the great Chinese Wall and Shanhaikwan, after Shanhaikwan and all strategic points of the great Wall—the so-called "Luantung demilitarized region", after the "Luantung demilitarized regions" the virtual capture of the provinces of Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan by the military forces of Japan. The plan of the complete destruction of China as a state, indicated in the Tanaka memorandum, is being systematically carried into life.

During the past year Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Chin-wei, Chang Hsiao-liang and other Chinese traitors to their fatherland, Huang Fu, Wang Yung-tai, Wang Yi-tang, Chang Tso-pin and other agents of Japanese imperialism, by their policy of "non-resistance" have sold our

* Abridged stenogram of speech delivered at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

provinces one after another, and have accepted one Japanese demand after another. At the same time all these traitors are carrying on bloody warfare against their own people and are suppressing every mass attempt to offer resistance to Japan and to save our native land, covering themselves with demagogy about "the necessity of first achieving internal order, and then resisting the external enemy" During the past period these traitors to their native land have, under the slogan "Co-operation of China and Japan", carried out an openly corrupt and disgraceful policy of capitulation unknown either in the history of China or in the history of the entire world.

The Japanese imperialists demanded the withdrawal of the troops of Yu Hsiao-chung, Sung Chih-yuan and others from Northern China, and all of these troops were immediately withdrawn to the South and the West so as to carry on an internecine war against their own people. The Japanese imperialists demanded the removal of many Chinese political and military officials, and all of the people mentioned were immediately removed from their posts. The Japanese imperialists demanded the removal of the Hopei provincial government from Tientsin, and its entire apparatus was immediately transferred to Paoting. The Japanese plunderers demanded the closing and prohibition of Chinese newspapers and journals which did not suit them, and all the papers and journals indicated by them were immediately closed and prohibited. The Japanese imperialists demanded the arrest and punishment of the greatest variety of editors and correspondents of Chinese newspapers and journals, and immediately all the people mentioned by them were subjected to arrest and imprisonment in jail. The Japanese imperialists demanded the implanting in Chinese schools and universities of the slave system of pro-Japanese education—and the entire advanced Chinese literature was immediately burned and numerous honest lads and lasses, who did not want to become slaves of an alien state, were arrested and many of them were shot. The Japanese imperialists demanded that Japanese should be invited as counsellors in all Chinese state institutions, and Japanese spies immediately appeared in all the military, political and financal institutions of the Nanking government. The Japanese imperialists even demanded the disbanding of the Kuomintang organization, and its local organizations in Northern China and Amoa were immediately disbanded. The Japanese imperialists demanded the disbandment of the "Blue Shirts" organization, and its leaders Tsen Kuang-ching and Chang Hsiao-hsen immediately ran away from Northern China.

If such a state of affairs continues further, then, obviously, our remaining provinces located on the shores of the River Yangtse and in the basin of the River Chungkiang and others, will also be gradually seized by the Japanese imperialist plunderers. And thereby, our country, which possesses the oldest culture in the history of mankind, a culture five thousand years old, will be completely transformed into a colony, and the biggest nation in the world with a population of 450,000,000 people will be completely enslaved.

Comrades, can the great Chinese people suffer such a situation any further? No they cannot. Can the Chinese people of 450,000,000 fail to

struggle for their national existence, for their state independence, for their territorial integrity and for their human rights and liberties? No, they cannot but fight. *The Chinese people have fought, are fighting, and will continue to fight for all this.* (*Applause.*)

The question is placed squarely: *Either we resist the offensive of imperialism—and then, life; or we refrain from resistance against the external enemy—and then, death.*

Under the conditions of the growing national crisis, there is no other means of saving China except the general mobilization of the whole of our great people for a decisive and relentless struggle against imperialism. And at the same time the Communist Party has no other means for the general mobilization of the entire Chinese people for a sacred national-revolutionary struggle against imperialism than the tactics of the anti-imperialist united people's front.

Yes, it is true that during the recent years the Communist Party of China has applied and is now applying the tactics of the anti-imperialist united front. The Communist Party of China has applied these tactics in the struggle of the Red Army, which has more than once made the proposal to all military forces of Kuomintang China to conclude a fighting agreement for the joint armed struggle against imperialism on the basis only of the following elementary, strictly businesslike conditions: the cessation of the offensive against the Soviet regime and the granting of democratic rights to the people (freedom of the press, speech, trade unions, organizations, demonstrations, strikes, etc.). The Communist Party applied these tactics during the heroic defense of Shanghai at the beginning of 1932, when the Communists fought in the advanced positions, hand in hand with the fighters of the 19th Army and the population of Shanghai; when the Communists organized a general strike of workers in all the Japanese textile factories in Shanghai in support of the 19th Army; when our Shanghai Party organizations established armed detachments of workers and students for participation in the struggles at the front, detachments engaged on transport, communications, scouting, supplies, red cross, etc., to assist the army and supply the rear; when the central Soviet government of China, in spite of its very difficult financial situation, sent tens of thousands of dollars for the support of the heroic anti-Japanese strike of the workers.

However, we must, with all seriousness, record the fact that the Communist Party of China has not as yet succeeded in *carrying out these tactics in a truly consistent and faultless manner.*

For example, during the heroic defense of Shanghai, the Communist Party of China should have established a very broad united anti-imperialist front with all those who supported the armed struggle of the 19th Army against the Japanese occupationists. But, by the reason of the erroneous position of some of our Party leaders who considered the slogan of "The union of workers, peasants, soldiers, merchants, and intellectuals" to be impermissible, a really wide anti-Japanese people's front was not established. The Communist Party of China should have organized a general strike in Shanghai and secured the arming of the workers on the basis of a broad united front of all Red, reformist, and

Kuomintang trade unions against Japanese imperialism. But in view of Right opportunist sabotage and "Left" sectarian errors by our trade union workers, the slogan of the general strike was not realized and the arming of workers to be sent to the front was carried out comparatively weakly.

Another example. The Soviet government and the revolutionary military council appealed to all the people and all troops to conclude a fighting agreement for a joint armed struggle against Japanese imperialism. (All the foreign and Chinese newspapers were compelled to print this appeal.) The commander-in-chief of the Kuomintang armies in the Northern part of Shansi against the Red Army, General Cheng Cheng together with his commanders demanded of Chiang Kai-shek that he cease war against the Red Army and conclude a militant agreement with it against the Japanese occupationists. In answer to this Chiang Kai-shek openly declared that anyone "who still speaks about a struggle against Japan will be subjected to severe punishment", and removed General Cheng Cheng from his post, and, on the other hand, was compelled to publish his appeal to the Red Army in which he attempted to justify his rejection of the joint struggle against Japan, and launched forward the most arrogant accusations against the Red Army (the absence of elementary humanity, etc.). Under these conditions the Communist Party of China should have made still more concrete proposals to General Cheng Cheng and his troops and to all the other troops desiring to carry on a struggle against Japanese imperialism. The discussion with Chiang Kai-shek should have been continued, so as to expose him completely before the army and the people as a national traitor. However, on account of the inconsistent way in which it carried out its policy, the Communist Party of China only limited itself to a negative reply to Chiang Kai-shek, imagining that it had in this way exposed him.

Third example. During the Fukien events the Communist Party of China should also have made its starting point the fact that these events were the direct result of the proposals of the Red Army to the Kuomintang troops to conclude a fighting agreement for the joint struggle against Japanese imperialism and its agents—Chiang Kai-shek, and that for this reason it was necessary to make the approach to the 19th Army and the Fukien government in all seriousness as to its own ally. But on account of the mechanical approach of some of our Party leaders to the question of the struggle against "attempts to find the third path, *i.e.*, neither the Soviet nor Kuomintang path of development for China", the Communist Party of China did not properly estimate the political significance of the Fukien events. Hence there followed our military mistake; instead of carrying on an armed struggle jointly with the 19th Army against Chiang Kai-shek on the most responsible Northeastern front in Kiangsi and Fukien, the military leaders of the Chinese Red Army decided to withdraw their forces from this front and to throw them southwards and westwards so as to deal a blow at the rear of Chiang Kai-shek's troops. By this very fact it was not in a position in good time to render genuine and serious help in the struggle of the 19th Army.

It is now clear to everyone that if during all these events the Com-

munist Party of China had really seriously, consistently and faultlessly carried out the tactics of the anti-imperialist united front, then the political situation in China would have become still more favorable for the development of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people against imperialism and its agents.

Such mistakes were primarily the result of the fact that many of our comrades did not understand and do not now understand the new situation which has arisen in China during the past years. They do not understand how to place the question of the anti-imperialist united front in China in a *new way*.

Basically these new points amount to the following:

1. The unprecedented national crisis brought about by Japanese expansion and the treachery of the Kuomintang have aroused general indignation among the people against the alien imperialists and their agents. In connection with this the national revolutionary rise of the widest masses grows stronger and even very many military forces of the militarists are inclined in favor of a sacred national-liberation war of the Chinese people against imperialism.

2. During the recent years the Red Army has *grown into a mighty military factor throughout the whole of China.* Only the Red Army comes out openly under the slogan of a "national-revolutionary war of the armed people against Japanese imperialism, in defense of the integrity, independence and unification of China". Out of all the anti-Chiang Kai-shek military forces the Red Army alone is in a position to successfully beat back the unceasing military campaigns conducted by Chiang Kai-shek, and to carry on war against him, the chief betrayer of the Chinese people. Because of this, all the political and military groupings, hostile to Japan and Chiang Kai-shek, independent of whether they are acting from motives which are truly patriotic and national-liberationist in character, or simply on account of the militaristic and imperialistic contradictions, cannot but consider the Red Army as a tremendous military factor in the armed struggle against Japan and Chiang Kai-shek.

3. If the national-revolutionary war of the armed people against the Japanese imperialists is to be properly organized and carried on successfully it is inevitable and necessary that not only the workers' and peasants' Red Army, not only all revolutionary-minded and class-conscious toilers should participate in this war, but that various political and military forces who constitute temporary, unstable and wavering allies should also do so.

I assume that at the present time, taking into account our former positive and negative experiences, taking into account the present situation in our country, when the existence of our people as a nation is threatened, our Party, under these conditions, must develop its united anti-imperialist people's front tactics further, striving consistently for the most courageous, widest and mightiest scope of this movement, so that the Chinese people may in this way as quickly as possible really unite for the common struggle against imperialism and for the salvation of our native land.

How must these tactics of the Communist Party of China develop

further? In my opinion, and according to the opinion of the entire Central Committee of the Communist Party of China our tactics must consist in that *jointly with the Soviet Government of China we make the proposal to the entire Chinese people, to all parties, groups, troops, mass organizations, and all prominent political and social leaders that they participate jointly with us in organizing an All-Chinese united people's government of national defense.*

And at the same time the Communist Party of China must with a sense of full responsibility openly declare to the entire people that it greets the participation in this united people's government of national defense, of all those who, along with the representatives of the Soviet government, do not wish to be colonial slaves, of all soldiers and commanders who are ready to turn their weapons to the defense of their own people and native land, of all parties, groups and organizations who desire to participate in the sacred national-liberation struggle, of all the honest young members of the Kuomintang and the "Blue Shirts" organization who really love their people and their country, of all Chinese emigrants who desire to save their country, and all of their brothers from among the national minorities, who are under the yoke of the imperialists and their agents—the Chinese militarists.

Some think that this proposal of the Communist Party of China is, primarily, only of an agitational and propaganda character, and cannot lead to real results. This, comrades, is completely incorrect.

This proposal of our Party is based on absolutely real objective and subjective factors. The objective situation in China bears eloquent testimony to the possibility of fulfilling the proposals made by our Party. In proof of this I can enumerate numerous facts which will unequivocally show you the entire picture of present day reality in China. In this picture there is clearly to be seen reflected those turns and changes in the correlation of forces in China which show that the idea of the necessity of saving the fatherland has already taken hold not only of very wide masses of the Chinese people, but also of considerable sections of the Kuomintang troops and their commanding officers; many prominent politicians and social workers have come to this.

In proof of this I will cite you the following facts:

1. In January-February-March, 1932, Shanghai was heroically defended against the Japanese imperialists by the 19th Army consisting of Kuomintang troops. Prior to this, on orders from Chiang-Kai-shek, the 19th Army carried on the struggle against our Red Army over a period of two to three years, and more than once suffered defeat. But after the Manchurian events of September 18, 1931, and particularly in connection with the Japanese offensive on Shanghai, and the unprecedented growth of anti-Japanese action by the people, this 19th Army led by its commanders, Tsai Ting-kai, Chiang Kuang-nei, Wong Chao-yuan and others, contrary to the orders of the Nanking government, turned their weapons against Japanese imperialism, and in this way wrote one of the most glorious pages in the history of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

2. During the Fukien events, at the end of 1933 and the beginning

of 1934, the 19th Army headed by the same commanders, convinced by their own bitter experience of the shameful national treachery of the Nanking government and the Kuomintang (for example Chiang Kai-shek sent his troops to disarm the 19th Army during the defense of Shanghai, and only as a result of the fact that the troops sent against them voluntarily went over to the side of the 19th Army for the common struggle against Japanese imperialism, did the plans of Chiang Kai-shek fall through), and indignant at the military action directed against their own people—that is, the Red Army—concluded a fighting agreement with the Red Army to undertake a common struggle against Japanese imperialism and its agent Chiang Kai-shek, and again, not only turned its weapons against the enemy of the people, Chiang Kai-shek, but also openly declared its decision to leave the Kuomintang and to organize a people's government in Fukien, independent of Nanking. In these events in Fukien, such well known and important militarists as Cheng Ming-chu, Li Chi-shen and others took part.

3. The anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek armed struggles of the army corps of Kuomintang troops headed by General Chi Hung-chang, Fang Cheng-wu, Sun Tien-yin and others in 1934 in Northern China. The best proof of the radicalization of these army corps and of a section of their commanding staff is shown by the conduct of General Chi Hung-chang. As commander of the 30th Army Corps of the Kuomintang army, on orders from Chiang Kai-shek, he and his army corps carried on a war against the 4th Red Army on the Honan, Hupeh, Anhwei fronts for a period of over two years. General Chi Hung-chang, full of admiration at the heroism of the Red Army and the Red Partisans and their liberation struggle, and indignant at the unceasing treachery to the interests of the Chinese people and the complete capitulation of the Nanking government to Japan, began to feel conscious of the need of going over to the side of the people. When Chiang Kai-shek learned of the changes in the sentiments of General Chi Hung-chang he hastily recalled him under the pretext of sending him to Europe to study military science. On his return to China Chi Hung-chang urgently pleaded with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to accept him into the ranks of the Communist Party. The Central Committee accepted him into the Party. After that he worked as a Communist, carrying out all the instructions and directives of the Party. He spent his money and property for the cause of the revolution and the people. When his active work of gathering military and popular forces to save his native land shook the whole of Northern China, Chiang Kai-shek with the assistance of Japanese imperialism, organized an attempt to assassinate him. As he lay seriously wounded as a result of the attempt to assassinate him, in the hospital of the French concession at Kiangsin, Chi Hung-chang was arrested and executed in Peiping on orders from Chiang Kai-shek. According to the reports of the entire Chinese and foreign press, Comrade Chi Hung-chang and his adherent, General Jen Yin-chi, in spite of wounds and their poor physical condition, conducted themselves before the Kuomintang court and during the execution as staunch national heroes devoted to their fatherland. They both died

as real revolutionary fighters for the people's cause. Both of them loudly and indignantly enumerated before the court the innumerable crimes of the Kuomintang before the people in the country. Both of them before their execution exclaimed, "Long live the Communist Party of China! Down with Japanese imperialism and its Kuomintang agents!" (*Applause.*)

Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Chin-wei and other national traitors made use of the fact that Chi Hung-chang joined our Party, not only to justify their order to execute him as a "Red bandit", but also to make the demagogic declarations to the people that generals and militarists are also in the ranks of the Communist Party of China.

Yes. The Communist Party of China is a working class party primarily by the character of its strategy and tactics, and its program and ultimate aims. But, at the same time, the Communist Party of China is the Party of the entire Chinese people in the struggle for the national and social liberation. (*Applause.*) The Communist Party of China is not only not ashamed of the fact that there are individual famous generals in its ranks, of the type of Chi Hung-chang, but, on the contrary, is proud of it. It is proud of this, because it clearly shows that it is the only party which provides hope and national glory for the entire Chinese people. And it is only in our Party that all the best, honest revolutionary sons and daughters of the Chinese people can unite, those who do not wish any further to tolerate the fact that their fatherland has been transformed into a colony of imperialism, and that their people has been enslaved, and that millions of toilers have died from hunger.

The Communist Party of China is proud of this because the authority and influence of our Party are so great, that even when generals and high officers of the Kuomintang troops recognize their duty to their fatherland and people, they see in the Communist Party of China their only way out and hope. And finally, our Party is proud of this because the strength and influence of Marxism and Leninism, the strength of the education and influence of the Communist Party over its members is so great, that even the former general and newcomer into the ranks of the Party, Comrade Chi Hung-chang was able, by his revolutionary behavior and by his heroic death to give an example of how a real Communist should behave, worthy of the confidence of his Party, class and people! (*Applause.*)

4. In 1933, the basic platform of the organization of the national war of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism was published and signed by thousands of people, headed by Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen).

The signatures of the initiators and supporters of this platform in China and abroad clearly show the national character of the document and the fierce desire of the Chinese people to take up arms against their Japanese oppressors.

Can there be any doubt that in connection with the further intensification of the national and social crisis, and the further shameful capitulation of the Nanking government to Japanese imperialism, that all

that is best and honest in Chinese society will rise still more powerfully to the struggle to save their people and their fatherland from enslavement to Japanese imperialism and its agents? Among the soldiers and commanding officers of the Kuomintang troops, and also among the former and present students of the Huang Pu and other military colleges, whom many people absolutely incorrectly place in the same category as Chiang Kai-shek and regard them as his supporters, there have been, there are and there will be numerous noble youths who display more and more desire and readiness to collaborate with the people, their Soviet government, and the Red Army for the struggle against imperialism.

The real character of the proposals made by the Communist Party of China is rooted not only in the objective condition of the country, but also in the rise of the subjective factor, *i.e.*, the power of the Red Army and the Soviets.

In the eighteen months that have followed the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Red Army of China has gained a big new victory: the main forces of the Red Army in the former central Soviet region of Kiangsi-Fukien under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the central Soviet government not only successfully left the district strategically encircled by Chiang Kai-shek's army of a million men, but it also broke through the ring of the enemy on the southern and western fronts, and made an heroic march from Kiangsi to the northwest of China. The main forces of the Red Army of China passed through the territory of nine provinces, passed over high mountain ranges and powerful rivers (Wu Kiang, Yangtze, Chinsa Kiang, Tatu Ho, etc.), travelled over 3,000 kilometers engaged in struggle (*cries of "Long live the heroic and glorious Red Army of China!" Stormy applause*), and displayed a heroism and military art unheard of in the history of the civil war. The Red Army fulfilled the general plan of the passage into Szechwan, and united with the other main sections of the Red armed forces (the 4th Army) in the neighborhood of the town of Chengtu, and together with it established such an extensive and firm new central Soviet region in the territory of parts of the provinces of Kweichow, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kansu, and Shensi such as has never been known before.

And the live power of the Red Army in all the Soviet regions during the last period of the heavy battles has not only not declined, but somewhat increased. According to figures published by the enemy foreign and Chinese press, the number of regular Red Army troops is now in the region of 500,000 men.

Furthermore, previously all the big groups of the Red Army (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and other army groups) were (apart from the 1st and 3rd and 5th) split up and not linked up with one another. Now they are either united territorially or have established partisan and other contacts with one another. Previously, the main forces of the Red Army were in the region of the provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien, which were very much worn out economically as a result of war lasting many years, and which were constantly blockaded by enemy forces on

all sides. Now, the main forces of the Red Army have occupied extensive territories in Szechwan, Sikang, Kweichow, Kansu and other provinces where resources for supplying the army and for increasing the man power of the army are far greater, and where it is easier to organize military defense, and where it is far more difficult for the enemy to fulfil his offensive plans, still more to encircle it from a military point of view.

The greatness of the victory of the Red Army in the recent period may be also judged from the fact that the slogan of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China regarding the need to increase the regular forces of the Red Army to a million men, and regarding the extension of the territory of the Soviet region so as to cover a total population of a hundred million people, can be quite fully realized in the near future. (*Applause.*)

This new historic victory of the Red Army and the Soviets in China, without a doubt enables them to a still greater degree and with still greater force to come forward as the leader and the unifying center of the entire Chinese people in the struggle to save their fatherland.

Proof of the strengthening of the subjective factor may be seen not only in the growth of the forces of the Red Army and the Soviets, but also in the growth of the forces of the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China has become a Party with almost 500,000 members, and in the Soviet regions has won to its side not only the majority of the workers, but also the majority of the masses of the people. In very difficult conditions, the Communist Party of China is splendidly leading the struggle of the workers' and peasants' Red Army and the Soviet Government. In spite of difficulties and at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, the Communist Party is heroically carrying on the struggle in Manchuria, Jehol, Northern China and the Kuomintang regions, as the only leader and organizer of the mass revolutionary struggle, beginning with its primitive and passive forms (petitions, sabotage, etc.), and going as far as the sharpest forms of struggle (mass political and general strikes, and actions against imperialism and its agents, the marionette government, the so-called "Manchukuo" and the Nanking government of Chiang Kai-shek—Hwang Fu, in defense of the partial and general interests of very wide masses of the people). The Communist Party on the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist line of the Comintern, in the fierce school of the national and class struggle, has succeeded in forging and steeling hundreds and thousands of fighters, devoted to the cause of the revolution, has been able to create talented and capable cadres who do not fear difficulties, and who face difficulties so as to overcome them. Among these fighters there are such outstanding Party leaders and statesmen as Comrades Mao Tse-tung (*prolonged applause*), Chang Kuo-tao, Hsiang Yin, Chow En-lei, Po Ku, Cheng Yin-chi, Lin Tsu-han, Wang Chia-hsian and others., Among these there are also such heroic military commanders as Comrades Chu Teh (*prolonged applause*), Peng Te-huei, Hsu Hsian-chien, Ho Lung, Tung Chien-Tang, Chang Tsan-hao, Hsiao Keh, Lin Piao, Lo Pin-huei, Liu Pei-hsuen and others. Among them there are also such national heroes and

class fighters as Piu Tsei, Yao Yi, Chu Chin-po, Lo Teng-hsien and Tsai Ho-sen (all of them members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China), Teng Chung-hsia (member of the Central Committee), Yung Tai-yin (member of the Central Committee of the Party and leader of the Y.C.L. of China), Chen Yuan-tao, Ho Tsin-shu (outstanding leaders in the struggle against the followers of Li Li-shan). No Ping-lan (an outstanding woman Communist) and other national heroes and class fighters whose Bolshevik steadfastness in face of torture and the prison bestiality of our enemies, and whose heroic deaths have provided fighting examples to be followed by every Communist, and have called forth admiration on the part of public opinion throughout China. Among these there are such fearless heroic fighters as Comrades Huang Kung-lo (member of the C.C. of the Party, commander of the 5th Red Army), Shen Tsei-min (member of the C.C. of the Party), Liu I (political commissar of the 2nd Red Army), Sun Hai-chow (commissar of the 7th Red Army Corps, who fought to his last drop of blood for the cause of the Soviets and the Red Army). Among these cadres there are such famous national heroes as Comrades Sun Hsiao-pao, Gu Wei-you and others who were commanders of working class volunteer detachments and who gave their lives in the most decisive struggles at the time of the heroic defense of Shanghai; Tung Tsan-shun, Pei Yan and others who heroically sacrificed their lives in the struggle against the Japanese occupational troops in Manchuria. And among them there were such splendid commanders and political workers of the famous vanguard section of the workers' and peasants' Red Army of China as Comrades Fan Chi-min, Liu Chin-hsi, Wang Shu-chi, who, when they fell prisoners into the hands of the Kuomintang executioner and when in the court of the enemy, raised high the glorious banner of the Red Army and the Communist Party, and gave rise to sympathy and respect to them from all the best people in China. (*Stormy applause; all the delegates stand; slogans shouted by the various delegations.*)

The ideological, political and organizational growth of the Communist Party of China is to be explained by the fact that it is led by the Leninist Communist International, by the fact that it is able to make use of the experience of all the Sections of the Comintern, and primarily of the rich experience of the leading Section of the Communist International, the C.P.S.U.

The Communist International—From the Sixth to the Seventh Congress—1928-1935

(Resolution on the Report of Wilhelm Pieck, Adopted August 1 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

1. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International *endorses the political line and practical activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

2. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International approves the proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of March, 1933, October, 1934, and April, 1935, to the national Sections and the leadership of the Second International for joint action in the struggle against fascism, the offensive of capital and war. Expressing its regret that, to the detriment of the working class, all these proposals were rejected by the Executive Committee of the Second International and by most of its Sections, and noting the historic significance of the fact that the Social-Democratic workers and a number of Social-Democratic organizations are already struggling hand in hand with the Communists against fascism and for the interests of the toiling masses, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Executive Committee of the Communist International and all Parties affiliated with the Communist International to *strive* in the future by every means to *establish a united front on a national as well as international scale.*

3. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International records the growing revolutionary influence of the work and slogans of the Communist Parties on the broad masses of the workers including the members of the Social-Democratic Parties. With this as its point of departure, the Congress enjoins all Sections of the Communist International to overcome, in the shortest time possible, the survivals of sectarian traditions which prevented them from finding a way of approach to the Social-Democratic workers, and to change the methods of agitation and propaganda which hitherto were at times abstract in character and little accessible to the masses, by giving these methods absolutely definite direction and linking them to the immediate needs and the day-to-day interests of the masses.

4. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes the serious shortcomings in the work of a number of Sections of the Communist International: the belated carrying out of the tactics of the united front, inability to mobilize the masses around partial demands, political as well as economic in character, failure to realize the necessity of struggling in defense of the remnants of bourgeois democracy, failure

to realize the necessity of creating an anti-imperialist people's front in the colonial and dependent countries, neglect of work in the reformist and fascist trade unions and mass organizations of the toilers formed by bourgeois parties, underestimation of the importance of work among the toiling women, underestimation of the importance of the work among the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeois masses, also the delay with which the Executive Committee gave political assistance to these Sections. Taking into consideration the constantly growing importance and responsibility of the Communist Parties which are called to head the movement of the masses in process of revolutionization, taking into consideration the necessity of concentrating operative leadership within the Sections themselves, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

a. While shifting the main stress of its activity to the elaboration of the fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labor movement, to proceed, in deciding any question, from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in internal organizational matters of the Communist Parties;

b. Systematically to assist in the formation and training of cadres of genuinely Bolshevik leaders in the Communist Parties, so that the Parties will be able at the sharpest turns of events independently and quickly to find, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and of the Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement;

c. To render effective aid to the Communist Parties in their ideological struggle against political opponents;

d. To assist the Communist Parties in making use of their own experience as well as the experience of the world Communist movement, avoiding, however, the mechanical application of the experience of one country to another country, and the substitution of stereotyped methods and general formulations for concrete Marxian analysis.

e. To ensure closer contact between the leading bodies of the Communist International and the various Sections of the Communist International by still more active participation on the part of the authoritative representatives of the most important Sections of the Communist International in the day-to-day work of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

5. Pointing out the underestimation by the Young Communist Leagues, as well as the Communist Parties, of the importance of mass work among the youth, and the weakness of this work in a number of countries, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to take effective measures to overcome the sectarian secludedness of a number of Young Communist League organizations, to make it the duty of the Young Communist League members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations)

formed by the bourgeois-democratic, reformist and fascist parties, as well as by religious associations, and to wage a systematic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of the youth, mobilizing it for the struggle against militarization and forced labor camps, and for the improvement of its material conditions, for the rights of the young generation of toilers, while striving to establish for these purposes a broad united front of all non-fascist youth mass organizations.

6. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes that during the last few years, under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., of the crisis in the capitalist countries, the fiendishness of German fascism and the danger of a new war, a turn of the broad masses of the workers and the toilers in general, from reformism to revolutionary struggle, from disunity and dispersion to the united front, has set in all over the world. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, taking into account the fact that the striving of the toilers for unity of action will continue to grow in the future despite the resistance of individual leaders of Social-Democracy, instructs all Sections of the Communist International, in the process of struggle for the united front of the proletariat and the people's front of all toilers against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of a new war, *to focus their attention on the further consolidation of their ranks and the winning over of the majority of the working class to the side of Communism.*

7. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International points out that *the transformation of the maturing political crisis into a victorious proletarian revolution depends solely on the strength and influence of the Communist Parties among the broad masses of the proletariat, on the energy and self-sacrificing devotion of the Communists.* Now, when a political crisis is maturing in a number of capitalist countries, it is the most important, the paramount task of the Communists not to rest on the successes already achieved but to advance towards new successes, extend the contacts with the working class, gain the confidence of the millions of toilers, transform the various Sections of the Communist International into mass parties, bring the majority of the working class under the influence of the Communist Parties and thus secure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism

(Resolution on the Report of Georgi Dimitroff, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

1. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that the alignment of class forces in the international arena and the tasks facing the labor movement of the world are determined by the following basic changes in the world situation:

(a) *The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets*, a victory of world importance, which has enormously enhanced the power and role of the U.S.S.R. as the bulwark of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, and is inspiring the toilers to struggle against capitalist exploitation, bourgeois reaction and fascism, for peace, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

(b) *The most profound economic crisis in the history of capitalism*, from which the bourgeoisie has tried to extricate itself by ruining the masses of the people, by dooming tens of millions of unemployed to starvation and extinction, and by lowering the standard of living of the toilers to an unprecedented extent.

Despite a growth in industrial production in a number of countries and an increase in the profits of the financial magnates, the world bourgeoisie has not succeeded on the whole either in emerging from the crisis and the depression, or in retarding the further accentuation of the contradictions of capitalism. In some countries (France, Belgium, etc.) the crisis is continuing, in others it has entered a state of depression, while in those countries where production has exceeded the pre-crisis level (Japan, Great Britain) new economic upheavals are impending.

(c) *The offensive of fascism, the advent to power of the fascists in Germany, the growth of the threat of a new imperialist world war and of an attack on the U.S.S.R.*, by means of which the capitalist world is seeking a way out of the impasse of its contradictions.

(d) *The political crisis*, expressed in the armed struggle of the workers in Austria and Spain against the fascists, a struggle which has not yet led to the victory of the proletariat over fascism, but which prevented the bourgeoisie from consolidating its fascist dictatorship; *the powerful anti-fascist movement in France*, which began with the February demonstration and the general strike of the proletariat in 1934.

(e) *The revolutionization of the toiling masses* throughout the whole capitalist world which is taking place under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and of the world economic crisis, also on the basis of the lessons derived from the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the central part of Europe—in Germany, as well as in Austria and Spain—that is, in countries *where the majority of the organized workers supported Social-Democratic Parties.* A powerful urge for *unity of action* is growing in the ranks of the international working class. The revolutionary movement in the *colonial countries* and the Soviet revolution in China are extending. The relation of class forces on a world scale is changing more and more in the direction of *a growth of the forces of revolution.*

In this situation, the ruling bourgeoisie is increasingly seeking salvation *in fascism*, in the establishment of the *open, terrorist dictatorship* of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of finance capital, with the aim of putting into effect extraordinary measures for despoiling the toilers, of preparing a predatory, imperialist war, of attacking the U.S.S.R., enslaving and dividing up China, and, on the basis of all this, preventing revolution. Finance capital is striving to curb the indignation of the petty-bourgeois masses against capitalism through the medium of its fascist agents who demagogically adapt their slogans to the moods of these sections of the population. Fascism is thus setting up for itself a mass basis and, by directing these sections as a reactionary force against the working class, leads to the still greater enslavement of all the toilers by finance capital. In a number of countries fascism is already in power. But the growth of fascism and its victory attest not only to the weakness of the working class, disorganized as the result of Social-Democracy's disruptive policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but also to the *weakness of the bourgeoisie itself*, which is stricken with fear at the realization of unity in the struggle of the working class, is in fear of revolution, and is no longer able to maintain its dictatorship by the old methods of bourgeois democracy.

2. The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German* type of fascism which brazenly calls itself National-Socialism though it has absolutely nothing in common either with socialism, or with the defense of the real national interests of the German people, and merely fulfils the role of lackey of the big bourgeoisie and constitutes not only *bourgeois nationalism but also bestial chauvinism.*

Fascist Germany is plainly showing to the whole world *what* the masses of the people may expect where fascism is victorious. The raging fascist government is annihilating the flower of the working class, its leaders and organizers, in jails and concentration camps. It has destroyed the trade unions, the co-operative societies, all legal organizations of the workers, as well as all other non-fascist political and cultural organizations. It has deprived the workers of the elementary right to defend their interests. It has converted a cultured country into a hotbed of obscurantism, barbarity and war. German fascism is the main instigator of a new imperialist war and comes forward as the *shock troop of international counter-revolution.*

3. In emphasizing the growth of the threat of fascism in all capitalist

countries, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International warns against any underestimation of the fascist danger. The Congress also rejects the fatalistic views regarding the inevitability of the victory of fascism. These views are basically incorrect and can only give rise to passivity and weaken the mass struggle against fascism. The working class can prevent the victory of fascism, if it succeeds in bringing about unity in its struggle and by promptly developing its own militant action does not allow fascism to gather strength; if it succeeds by correct revolutionary leadership in rallying around itself the broad sections of toilers in town and country.

4. The victory of fascism is insecure. In spite of the formidable difficulties that fascist dictatorship creates for the working class movement, the foundations of bourgeois domination are being further shaken under the rule of the fascists. The internal conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie are becoming especially acute. The legalistic illusions of the masses are being shattered. The revolutionary hatred of the workers is accumulating. The baseness and falsity of the social demagogy of fascism is revealing itself more and more. Fascism not only did not bring the masses the improvement in their material conditions which they had been promised, but has brought about a further increase in the profits of the capitalists by lowering the living standard of the toiling masses, has intensified their exploitation by a handful of financial magnates, and has carried out their further spoliation for the benefit of capital. The disillusionment of the urban petty-bourgeois sections and of the toiling peasants, deceived by the fascists, is growing. The mass base of fascism is disintegrating and narrowing down. The Congress, however, warns against the dangerous illusions of an automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship, and points out that only the *united revolutionary struggle* of the working class at the head of all the toilers will bring about the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

5. In connection with the victory of fascism in Germany and the growth of the fascist danger in other countries, the class struggle of the proletariat, which is increasingly adopting the course of *determined resistance* to the fascist bourgeoisie, sharpened and continues to sharpen. *The united front movement* against the offensive of capital and fascism is developing in all capitalist countries. The National-Socialist terror raging in Germany has lent powerful impetus to the *international united front* of the proletariat (the Leipzig trial, the campaign for the release of Dimitroff and the comrades jailed together with him, the campaign for the defense of Thaelmann, etc.).

Although the united front movement is as yet only in the initial stage of its development, the Communist and Social-Democratic workers of France, fighting side by side, succeeded in beating off the first attacks of fascism, thereby exerting a mobilizing influence on the united front movement internationally. The joint armed struggle of the Social-Democratic and Communist workers in Austria and Spain not only set an heroic example to the toilers of other countries, but also demonstrated that a successful struggle against fascism would have been fully possible but for the sabotage of the Right and the wavering of the "Left" Social-Democratic leaders (in Spain there must be added the open treachery of the majority of the Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders), whose influence over

the masses deprived the proletariat of determined revolutionary leadership and of clarity in the aims of the struggle.

6. The bankruptcy of the leading party of the Second International, of German Social-Democracy, which by its entire policy facilitated the victory of fascism, also the failure of "Left" reformist Social-Democracy in Austria, which drew the broad masses away from the struggle even when the inevitable armed clash with fascism was drawing close, have tremendously increased the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers in the policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. The Second International is undergoing a profound crisis. Within the Social-Democratic Parties and the whole Second International a process of differentiation into *two main camps* is taking place—side by side with the existing camp of the *reactionary elements* who are trying to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there is being formed a camp of *elements who are becoming revolutionized*, elements who declare for the establishment of the united proletarian front and are adopting more and more the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International welcomes the aspiration of the Social-Democratic workers to establish a united front with the Communists, regarding this as a sign that their class consciousness is growing, and that a beginning has been made toward overcoming the split in the ranks of the working class in the interest of a successful struggle against fascism, against the bourgeoisie.

II. THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

In the face of the towering menace of fascism to the working class and all the gains it has made, to all toilers and their elementary rights, to the peace and liberty of the peoples, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that *at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labor movement to re-establish the united fighting front of the working class.* For a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, against the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie, against fascism, the bitterest enemy of all the toilers, who, without distinction of political views have been deprived of all rights and liberties, it is imperative that unity of action be established between all sections of the working class, irrespective of what organization they belong to, even before the majority of the working class unites on a common fighting platform for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution. But it is precisely for this reason that this task makes it the duty of the Communist Parties to take into consideration the changed circumstances and to apply the united front tactics *in a new manner*, by seeking to reach agreements with the organizations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale.

With this as its point of departure, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Communist Parties to be guided by the following instructions when carrying out the united front tactics:

1. *The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the latter against fascism,* must be

the starting point and form the main content of the workers' united front in all capitalist countries. In order to set the broad masses in motion, such slogans and forms of struggle must be put forward as arise from the vital needs of the masses and from the level of their fighting capacity at the given stage of development. Communists must not limit themselves to merely issuing appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship, but must show the masses *what they are to do today* to defend themselves against capitalist plunder and fascist barbarity. They must strive, through the joint action of the labor organizations, to mobilize the masses around *a program of demands that are calculated really to shift the burden of the consequence of the crisis to the shoulders of the ruling classes, demands, the fight to realize which, disorganizes fascism, hampers the preparations for imperialist war, weakens the bourgeoisie and strengthens the positions of the proletariat.*

While preparing the working class for rapid shifts in the forms and methods of struggle as circumstances change, it is necessary to organize, in proportion as the movement grows, the transition *from the defensive to the offensive* against capital, steering toward the organization of a *mass political strike*, in which it is indispensable that the participation of the principal trade unions of the country should be secured.

2. Without for a moment giving up their independent work in the sphere of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses, the Communists, in order to render the road to unity of action easier for the workers, must *strive to secure joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the toilers against the class enemies of the proletariat, on the basis of short- or long-term agreements.* At the same time, attention must be directed mainly to the development of mass action in the various localities, conducted by the *lower organizations* through local agreements.

Loyally fulfilling the conditions of the agreements, the Communists must promptly expose any sabotage of joint action by persons or organizations participating in the united front, and if the agreement is broken, must immediately appeal to the masses while continuing their tireless struggle for the restoration of the disrupted unity of action.

3. The forms in which the united proletarian front is realized, which depend on the condition and character of the labor organizations and on the concrete situation, must be varied in character. Such forms may include, for instance, joint action by the workers agreed upon *from case to case* on particular occasions, to secure individual demands, or on the basis of a common platform; action agreed upon in *individual enterprises* or *branches of industry;* action agreed upon a *local, district, national or international scale;* action agreed upon in the organization of the *economic struggle* of the workers, in defense of the interests of unemployed, in carrying out mass *political activity*, in the organization of join *self-defense* against fascist attacks; action agreed upon to render *aid to political prisoners and their families*, in the field of struggle against *social* reaction; joint action in defense of the *interests of the youth and women*, in the sphere of the *co-operative movement, cultural activity and sports;* joint action for the purpose of supporting the demands of the toiling peasants, etc.: the formation of workers', and workers' and peasants' alliances (Spain); the formation of lasting coalitions in the

shape of "Labor Parties" or "Workers' and Farmers' Parties" (U.S.A.), etc.

In order to develop the united front movement as the cause of the masses themselves, Communists must strive to secure the establishment of elected (or in the countries under fascist dictatorship, selected from the most authoritative participants in the movement) non-party *class organs of the united front* in the factories, among the unemployed, in the working class districts, among the small townsfolk, and in the villages. Only such bodies (which, of course, should not supplant the organizations participating in the united front) will be able to bring into the united front movement also the vast *unorganized mass* of toilers, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital and against fascism, and on this basis help to create a large body of working class united front activists.

4. Wherever the Social-Democratic leaders, in their efforts to deflect the workers from the struggle in defense of their everyday interests and in order to frustrate the united front, put forward *widely advertised "socialist" projects* (the de Man plan, etc.), the demagogic nature of such projects must be exposed, and the toilers must be shown the impossibility of bringing about socialism so long as power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, however, some of the measures put forward in these projects that can be linked up with the vital demands of the toilers should be utilized as *the starting point for developing a mass united front struggle jointly with the Social-Democratic workers.*

In countries where *Social-Democratic governments* are in power (or where there are coalition governments in which Socialists participate), Communists must not confine themselves to propaganda exposing the policies of such governments, but must mobilize the broad masses for the struggle to secure their practical vital class demands, the fulfillment of which the Social-Democrats announced in their platforms, particularly when they were not yet in power or were not yet members of their respective governments.

5. Joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations not only does not preclude, but on the contrary, *renders still more necessary* the serious and well-founded criticism of reformism, of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the patient exposition of the principles and program of Communism to the Social-Democratic workers.

While revealing to the masses the meaning of the demagogic arguments advanced by the Right Social-Democratic leaders against the united front, *while intensifying the struggle against the reactionary section of Social-Democracy,* the Communists must establish *the closest co-operation with those Left Social-Democratic workers, functionaries and organizations, that fight against the reformist policy and advocate a united front with the Communist Party.* The more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, which is participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be the assistance we give to that part of Social-Democracy which is becoming revolutionized. And the self-determination of the various elements within the Left camp will take place the sooner, the more resolutely the Com-

munists fight for a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties.

The attitude to the practical realization of the united front will be the chief indication of the true position of the various groups among the Social-Democrats. In the fight for the practical realization of the united front, those Social-Democratic leaders who come forward as Lefts in words will be obliged to show by deeds whether they are really ready to fight the bourgeoisie and the Right Social-Democrats, or are on the side of the bourgeoisie, that is, against the cause of the working class.

6. *Election campaigns* must be utilized for the further development and strengthening of the united fighting front of the proletariat. While coming forward independently in the elections and unfolding the program of the Communist Party before the masses, the Communists must seek to establish a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions (also with the organizations of the toiling peasants, handicraftsmen, etc.), and exert every effort to prevent the election of reactionary and fascist candidates. In face of fascist danger, the Communists, *while reserving for themselves freedom for political agitation and criticism,* may in election campaigns *declare for a common ticket with the anti-fascist front,* depending on the growth and success of the united front movement, and the electoral system in operation.

7. In striving to unite, under the leadership of the proletariat, the struggle of the toiling peasants, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities, the Communists must seek to bring about the establishment of a wide *anti-fascist people's* front on the basis of the proletarian united front, supporting all those specific demands of these sections of the toilers which are in line with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. It is particularly important to mobilize the *toiling peasants* against the fascist policy of robbing the basic masses of the peasantry; against the plundering price policy of monopoly capital and the bourgeois governments, against the unbearable burden of taxes, rents and debts, against forced sales of peasant property, and in favor of government aid for the ruined peasantry. While working everywhere among the *urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia* as well as among the *office workers,* the Communists must rouse these sections against increasing taxation and the high cost of living, against their spoliation by monopoly capital, by the trusts, against the thraldom of interest payments, and against dismissals and reductions in salary of government and municipal employees. While defending the interests and rights of the progressive intellectuals, it is necessary to give them every support in their movement against cultural reaction, and to facilitate their going over to the side of the working class in the struggle against fascism.

8. In the circumstances of a political crisis, when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement, the Communists must advance *fundamental* revolutionary slogans (such as, for instance, control of production and the banks, disbandment of the police force and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.), which are directed toward still further shaking the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and increasing the strength of the working class, toward isolating the parties of compromise, and which lead the working masses right up to the point of the revolutionary seizure

of power. If with such an upsurge of the mass movement it will prove possible, and necessary, in the interests of the proletariat, to create a *proletarian united front government*, or an *anti-fascist people's front government*, which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put into effect decisive measures against fascism and reaction, the Communist Party must see to it that such a government is formed. The following situation is an essential prerequisite for the formation of a united front government: (a) When the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie is seriously paralyzed so that the bourgeoisie is not in a condition to prevent the formation of such a government; (b) when vast masses of the toilers vehemently take action against fascism and reaction, but are not yet ready to rise and fight for Soviet Power; (c) when already a considerable proportion of the organizations of the Social-Democratic and other parties participating in the united front demand ruthless measures against the fascists and other reactionaries, and are ready to fight together with the Communists for the carrying out of these measures.

In so far as the united front government will really undertake decisive measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents, and will in no way restrict the activity of the Communist Party and the struggle of the working class, the Communist Party will support such a government in every way. The participation of the Communists in a united front government will be decided separately in each particular case as the concrete situation may warrant.

III. THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Emphasizing the special importance of forming a united front in the sphere of the economic struggle of the workers and the establishment of the unity of the trade union movement as a most important step in consolidating the united front of the proletariat, the Congress makes it a duty of the Communists to adopt all practical measures for the realization of the unity of the trade unions by industries and on a national scale.

The Communists are decidedly for the re-establishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale; for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism; for one trade union in each industry; for one center of trade unions in each country; for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries, for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle.

In countries where small Red Trade Unions exist, efforts must be made to secure their admission into the big reformist trade unions, with demands put forward for the right to defend their views and the reinstatement of expelled members. In countries where big Red and reformist trade unions exist side by side, efforts must be made to secure their amalgamation on an equal footing, on the basis of a platform of struggle against the offensive of capital and a guarantee of trade union democracy.

It is the duty of Communists to work actively in the reformist and united trade unions, to consolidate them and to recruit the unorganized workers for them, and at the same time exert every effort to have these organizations actually defend the interests of the workers and really be-

come genuine class organizations. To this end the Communists must strive to secure the support of the entire membership, of the officials, and of the organizations as a whole.

It is the duty of the Communists to defend the trade unions against all attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie and the fascists to restrict their rights or to destroy them.

If the reformist leaders resort to the policy of expelling revolutionary workers or entire branches of unions, or adopt other forms of repression, the Communists must rally the entire union membership against the splitting activity of the leadership, at the same time establishing contact between the expelled members and the bulk of the members of the trade unions, and engaging in a joint struggle for their re-instatement, for the restoration of the disrupted trade union unity.

The Red Trade Unions and the Red International of Labor Unions must receive the fullest support of the Communist Parties in their efforts to bring about the joint struggle of the trade unions of all trends, and establish unity in the trade union movement both nationally and internationally, *on the basis of the class struggle and trade union democracy.*

IV. THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE INDIVIDUAL SECTORS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

1. The Congress calls particular attention to the necessity of carrying on a systematic *ideological struggle against fascism.* In view of the fact that the chief, the most dangerous form of fascist ideology is *chauvinism,* it must be made plain to the masses that the fascist bourgeoisie uses the pretext of defending the national interests to carry out its sordid class policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people as well as robbing and enslaving other peoples. They must be shown that the working class, which fights against every form of servitude and national oppression, is *the only genuine protagonist of national freedom and the independence of the people.* The Communists must in every way combat the fascist falsification of the history of the people, and do everything to enlighten the toiling masses on the past of their own people in an historically correct fashion, in the true spirit of Lenin and Stalin, so as to link up their present struggle with the revolutionary traditions of the past. The Congress warns against adopting a disparaging attitude on the question of national independence and the national sentiments of the broad masses of the people, an attitude which renders it easier for fascism to develop its chauvinist campaigns (the Saar, the German regions in Czechoslovakia, etc.), and insists on a correct and concrete application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

While Communists are irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism of every variety, they are by no means supporters of national nihilism, of an attitude of unconcern for the fate of their own people.

2. Communists must enter all fascist mass organizations which have a monopoly of legal existence in the given country, and must make use of even the smallest legal or semi-legal opportunity of working in them, in order to counterpose the interests of the masses in these organizations to the policy of fascism, and to undermine the mass basis of the latter.

Beginning with the most elementary movements of protest around the urgent needs of the toilers, the Communists must use flexible tactics to draw ever wider masses into the movement, especially workers who by reason of their lack of class consciousness still follow the fascists. As the movement gains in width and depth, the slogans of the struggle must be changed, while preparing to smash the fascist bourgeois dictatorship with the aid of the very masses who are in the fascist organizations.

3. While vigorously and consistently defending the interests and demands of the unemployed, while organizing and leading them in the fight for work, for adequate relief, insurance, etc., the Communists must draw the unemployed into the united front movement and use all means to force out the influence of fascism among them. At the same time it is necessary to take strictly into account the specific interests of the various categories of unemployed (skilled and unskilled workers, organized and unorganized, men and women, youth, etc.).

4. The Congress emphatically calls the attention of all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to the exceptional role of the youth in the struggle against fascism. It is from among the youth that fascism mainly recruits its shock detachments. In fighting against any underestimation of the importance of *mass work among the toiling youth*, and taking effective steps to overcome the secludedness of the Young Communist League organizations, the Communist Parties must do everything to help unite the forces of all non-fascist mass youth organizations (including youth organizations of the trade unions, co-operative societies, etc.) on the basis of the broadest united front, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right, against the militarization of the youth, and for the economic and cultural interests of the young generation. The task of creating an anti-fascist association of Communist and Socialist youth leagues on the platform of the class struggle must be brought to the fore.

The Communist Parties must give every assistance in the development and consolidation of the Young Communist League.

5. The vital necessity of drawing the millions of toiling women into the united people's front, primarily women workers and toiling peasant women, irrespective of the political and religious views they hold, requires that the Communists intensify their activity for the purpose of developing the mass movement of the toiling women around the struggle for their urgent demands and interests, particularly in the struggle against the high cost of living, against inequality in the status of women and their fascist enslavement, against mass dismissals, for higher wages on the principle of "equal pay for equal work", and against the war danger. Flexible use must be made, in every country and on an international scale, of the most varied organizational forms to establish contacts between, and bring about joint action of, the revolutionary, Social-Democratic and progressive women's organizations, while ensuring freedom of opinion and criticism, without hesitating to form also separate women's organizations wherever this may become necessary.

6. Communists must carry on a struggle to draw the co-operative organizations into the ranks of the united front of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist people's front.

The most active assistance must be rendered by Communists in the struggle of the co-operative societies for the urgent interests of their members, especially in the fight against high prices, for credits, against the introduction of predatory duties and new taxes, against the restrictions imposed on the activities of the co-operative societies and their destruction by the fascists, etc.

7. The Communists must take the initiative in establishing *anti-fascist mass defense corps* against the attacks of the fascist bands, recruiting these corps from reliable, tested elements of the united front movement.

V. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most important task facing the Communists consists in working to establish *an anti-imperialist people's front.* For this purpose it is necessary to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by the national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organizations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform.

In China, the extension of the Soviet movement and the strengthening of the fighting power of the Red army must be combined with the development of the people's anti-imperialist movement all over the country. This movement must be carried on under the slogan of the national-revolutionary struggle of the armed people against the imperialist enslavers, in the first place against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese servitors. The Soviets must become the rallying center for the entire Chinese people in its struggle for emancipation. In the interests of its own struggle for emancipation, the proletariat of the imperialist countries must give its unstinted support to the liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against the imperialist pirates.

VI. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Congress emphasizes that only *the further all-round consolidation of the Communist Parties themselves,* the development of their initiative, the carrying out of a policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles, and application of correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces, can ensure the mobilization of the widest masses of toilers for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism.

In order that the united front may be really brought about, the Communists must overcome the self-satisfied *sectarianism* in their own ranks which in our day is, in a number of cases, no longer an "infantile disorder" of the Communist movement but an ingrained vice. By overestimating the degree of revolutionization of the masses, by creating the

illusion that the path to fascism had already been barred while the fascist movement was continuing to grow, this sectarianism actually fostered passivity in relation to fascism. In practice it replaced the methods of leading masses by the methods of leading a narrow party group, substituted abstract propaganda and "Left" doctrinairism for a mass policy, refusing to work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations and adopting stereotyped tactics and slogans for all countries without taking account of the special features of the concrete situation in each particular country. This sectarianism to a great extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult for a genuine mass policy to be carried out and hindered these Parties in making use of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the revolutionary movement, hindered the cause of winning over the wide masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While carrying on a most energetic struggle to root out all vestiges of sectarianism, which at the present moment is a most serious obstacle to the pursuing of a real mass Bolshevik policy by the Communist Parties, the Communists must increase their vigilance in guarding against the danger of *Right opportunism*, and must carry on a determined struggle against all its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the *Right danger will grow* as the tactics of the united front are widely applied. The struggle for the establishment of the united front, the unity of action of the working class, gives rise to the necessity that the Social-Democratic workers be convinced by object lessons of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and charges every Communist Party to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to gloss over the differences in principle between Communism and reformism, against weakening the criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against the illusions that it is possible to bring about socialism by peaceful, legal methods, against any reliance on *automatism* or *spontaneity*, whether in the liquidation of fascism or in the realization of the united front, against belittling the role of the Party and against the slightest *vacillation at the moment of decisive action.*

Holding that the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that *a single mass political party of the working class* exist in every country, the Congress sets the Communist Parties the task of taking the initiative in bringing about this unity, relying on the growing desire of the workers to unite the Social-Democratic Parties or individual organizations with the Communist Parties. At the same time it must be explained to the workers without fail that such unity is possible only on certain conditions: on condition of *complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie;* on condition that *unity of action* be first brought about; that the necessity of the *revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* be recognized; that support of one's own bourgeoisie in *imperialist war* be rejected; and that the party be constructed on the basis of *democratic centralism* which ensures unity of will and action and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.

At the same time it is necessary to act resolutely against the attempts of the "Left" Social-Democratic demagogues to utilize the disillusionment among the Social-Democratic workers to form new Socialist Parties and a new "International" which are directed against the Communist movement and thus widen the split in the working class.

Considering that unity of action is an urgent necessity and the surest way to bring about the political unity of the proletariat, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares in the name of all Sections of the Communist International that they are ready to begin immediate negotiations with the corresponding parties of the Second International for the establishment of unity of action of the working class against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and likewise declares that the *Communist International is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Second International directed to this end.*

VII. FOR SOVIET POWER

In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary proletariat prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies and directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers—Soviet Power.

The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the rallying of the world proletariat around it, and the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the turn toward revolutionary class struggle which has set in among the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organized in the reformist trade unions, the increasing mass resistance to fascism and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the decline of the Second International and the growth of the Communist International, *are all accelerating, and will continue to accelerate, the development of the world socialist revolution.*

The capitalist world is entering a period of sharp clashes as a result of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

Steering a course in the direction of this perspective of the revolutionary development, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International calls on the Communist Parties to display the greatest political activity and daring, to carry on a tireless struggle to bring about unity of action by the working class. *The establishment of the united front of the working class is the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolutions.* Only the welding of the proletariat into a single mass political army will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism and the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets.

"The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory." (Stalin.)

The Tasks of the Communist International in Connection with the Preparations of the Imperialists for a New World War

(Resolution on the Report of M. Ercoli, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

1. THE PREPARATION OF WAR FOR A NEW REPARTITION OF THE WORLD

THE world economic crisis and the shattering of capitalist stabilization have given rise to the extreme instability of all international relations. The intensified struggle on the world market, which has shrunk extremely as a result of the economic crisis, has passed into fierce economic war. *A new repartition of the world has actually already begun.*

Japanese imperialism, waging war in the Far East, has already made a start toward a new repartition of the world. The military occupation of Manchuria and North China signifies the virtual annulment of the *Washington Treatics* which regulated the division of the spheres of influence among the imperialist powers in China and their mutual relations in the Pacific. Japan's predatory expedition is already leading to the weakening of the influence of British and American imperialism in China, is menacing the position of Great Britain and the U.S.A. in the Pacific and is a preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

All that is left of the *Versailles Treaty* is state frontiers and the distribution of mandates for colonies. The liquidation of the Versailles Treaty took place as a result of the stoppage of reparation payments, the re-establishment of universal conscription by the Hitler government, and also the conclusion of a naval agreement between Britain and Germany.

Being the chief instigators of war, the German fascists, who strive for the hegemony of German imperialism in Europe, raise the question of changing the boundaries of Europe at the expense of their neighbors by means of war. The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states, which they are striving to convert into a base for attack on the Soviet Union, and the wresting of the Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. They are demanding colonies and are endeavoring to arouse moods in favor of a world war for a new repartition of the world. All these intrigues of the reckless inciters of

war help to intensify the contradictions between the capitalist states and create disturbance throughout Europe.

German imperialism has found an ally in Europe—*fascist Poland*, which is also striving to extend its territory at the expense of Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries and the Soviet Union.

The dominant circles of the *British bourgeoisie* support the German armaments in order to weaken the hegemony of France on the European continent, to turn the spearhead of German armaments from the West to the East and to direct Germany's aggressiveness against the Soviet Union. By this policy Great Britain is striving to set up a counterbalance to the United States on a world-wide scale and, simultaneously, to strengthen the anti-Soviet tendencies not only of Germany but also of Japan and Poland. This policy of British imperialism is one of the factors accelerating the outbreak of a world imperialist war.

Italian imperialism is directly proceeding to the seizure of Abyssinia, thus creating new tension in the relations between the great imperialist powers.

The main contradiction in the camp of the imperialists is the Anglo-American antagonism, which exerts its influence on all the contradictions in world politics. In South America, where the hostile interests of Great Britain and the United States clash most sharply, this antagonism led to wars between the respective South American vassals of these powers (between Bolivia and Paraguay, Colombia and Peru), and threatens further armed conflicts in South and Central America (Colombia and Venezuela).

At a time when particularly the fascist states—Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy—are openly striving for a new repartition of the world and a change in the frontiers of Europe, there is a tendency among a number of other countries to maintain the status quo. At the present time this tendency is represented on a world scale by the United States; in Europe, primarily by France; the efforts of these two leading imperialist powers to maintain the status quo are supported by several smaller countries (the Little and Balkan Ententes, some of the Baltic states), whose independence is threatened by a new imperialist war.

The victory of German National Socialism, the most reactionary, the most aggressive form of fascism, and its war provocations have spurred on the war parties, which represent the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of the bourgeoisie, in all countries to fight more vigorously for power and to intensify the fascization of the state apparatus.

The frantic arming of fascist Germany, especially the restoration of military conscription and the enormous increase of the navy and air fleet in Germany, have given rise to a new, intensified race for *armaments* throughout the capitalist world. Despite the world economic crisis, the war industry flourishes more than ever before. The countries which have gone farthest in preparing for war (Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland) have already placed their national economy on a war footing. Alongside the regular armies, special fascist detachments are trained to safeguard the rear and to do gendarme service at the front. Pre-

conscription training is widespread in all capitalist countries, and even includes juveniles. *Education* and *propaganda* in the spirit of chauvinism and racial demagogy are encouraged in every way, their cost being defrayed by the government.

Although the acuteness of the imperialist contradictions renders the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc difficult at the present moment, the fascist governments and war parties in the capitalist countries endeavor to solve these contradictions at the expense of the fatherland of all the toilers, at the expense of the Soviet Union. The danger of the outbreak of a new imperialist war daily threatens humanity.

II. THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

On the basis of the rapid rise of socialist industry and agriculture, on the basis of the liquidation of the last capitalist class—the kulaks, on the basis of the final victory of socialism over capitalism and the strengthening of the defensive power of the country resulting therefrom, *the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries have entered a new phase.*

The basic contradiction, that between the socialist and the capitalist world, has become still more acute. But due to its growing might, the Soviet Union has been able to avert the attack that was already prepared by the imperialist powers and their vassals, and to unfold its consistent policy of peace directed against all instigators of war. This has made the Soviet Union the center of attraction not only for class-conscious workers, but for all the toiling people in the capitalist and colonial countries who strive for peace. Moreover, the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has not only upset the plans of the imperialists to isolate the Soviet Union, but has laid the basis for its cooperation in the cause of the preservation of peace *with the small states* for whom war, by placing their independence in jeopardy, represents a special danger, as well as with those governments which at the *present moment* are interested in the preservation of peace.

The peace policy of the U.S.S.R., putting forward proletarian internationalism as against national and racial dissension, is not only directed towards defense of the Soviet country, towards ensuring the safety of socialist construction; it also protects the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it means the defense of the national independence of small nations, it serves the vital interests of humanity, it defends culture from the barbarities of war.

At the time when a new war between the imperialist states is approaching ever more closely, the might of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the U.S.S.R. is constantly gaining in importance in the struggle for peace. Under the circumstances of a frantic increase in armaments by the imperialist countries, especially on the part of Germany, Japan and Poland, all those who are striving to preserve peace are vitally interested in strengthening and actively supporting the Red Army.

III. THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

On the basis of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin on war, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International concretely formulated the tasks of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war. Guided by these principles, the Communist Parties of Japan and China, both directly affected by war, have waged and are waging a Bolshevik struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Chinese people. *The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, confirming the decisions of the Sixth Congress on the struggle against imperialist war,* sets the following main tasks before the Communist Parties, revolutionary workers, toilers, peasants and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

1. *The struggle for peace, and for the defense of the U.S.S.R.* In face of the war provocations of the German fascists and Japanese militarists, and the speeding up of armaments by the war parties in the capitalist countries, in face of the immediate danger of a counter-revolutionary war breaking out against the Soviet Union, the *central slogan* of the Communist Parties must be: struggle for peace.

2. *The united people's front in the struggle for peace and against the instigators of war.* The struggle for peace opens up before the Communist Parties the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united front. All those interested in the preservation of peace should be drawn into this united front. The concentration of forces against the chief instigators of war at any given moment (at the present time—against fascist Germany, and against Poland and Japan which are in league with it) constitutes a most important tactical task of the Communist Parties. It is of especially great importance for the Communist Party of Germany to expose the national demagogy of Hitler fascism, which screens itself behind phrases about the unification of the German people but in fact leads to the isolation of the German people and to a new war catastrophe. The indispensable condition and prerequisite for the unification of the German people lie in the overthrow of Hitler fascism. The establishment of a united front with Social-Democratic and reformist organizations (party, trade union, cooperative, sport, and cultural and educational organizations) and with the bulk of their members, as well as with mass national-liberation, religious-democratic and pacifist organizations and their adherents, is of decisive importance for the struggle against war and its fascist instigators in all countries.

The formation of a united front with *Social-Democratic and reformist organizations* for the struggle for peace necessitates a determined ideological struggle against reactionary elements within the Social-Democratic Parties which, in face of the immediate danger of war, proceed to collaborate even more closely with the bourgeoisie for the defense of the bourgeois fatherland and by their campaigns of slander against the Soviet Union directly aid the preparations for an anti-Soviet war. It necessitates close collaboration with those forces in the Social-Demo-

cratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other mass labor organizations whose position is approaching ever closer to that of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

The drawing of pacifist organizations and their adherents into the united front of struggle for peace acquires great importance in mobilizing the petty bourgeois masses, progressive intellectuals, women and youth against war. While constantly subjecting the erroneous views of sincere pacifists to constructive criticism, and vigorously combating those pacifists who by their policy screen the preparations of the German fascists for imperialist war (the leadership of the Labor Party of Great Britain, etc.), the Communists must invite the collaboration of all pacifist organizations that are prepared to go with them even if only part of the way towards a genuine struggle against imperialist wars.

The Communists must support the Amsterdam-Pleyel anti-war and anti-fascist movement by active collaboration with it and help to extend it.

3. *The combination of the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against fascism.* The anti-war struggle of the masses striving to preserve peace must be very closely combined with the struggle against fascism and the fascist movement. It is necessary to conduct not only general propaganda for peace, but primarily propaganda directed against the chief instigators of war, against the fascist and other imperialist war parties, and against concrete measures of preparations for imperialist war.

4. *The struggle against militarism and armaments.* The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight: against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms. The struggle against war preparation measures can be conducted only in closest connection with the defense of the economic interests and political rights of the workers, office employees, toiling peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie.

5. *The struggle against chauvinism.* In the struggle against chauvinism the task of the Communists consists in educating the workers and the whole of the toiling population in the spirit of *proletarian internationalism*, which can be accomplished only in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors for the vital class interests of the proletariat, as well as in the struggle against the bestial chauvinism of the National Socialist Parties and all other fascist parties. At the same time, the Communists must show that the working class carries on a consistent struggle in defense of the national freedom and independence of all the people against any oppression or exploitation, because only the Communist policy defends to the very end the national freedom and independence of the people of its country.

6. *The national liberation struggle and the support of wars of*

national liberation. If any weak state is attacked by one or more big imperialist powers which want to destroy its national independence and national unity or to dismember it, as in the historic instance of the partition of Poland, a war conducted by the national bourgeoisie of such a country to repel this attack may assume the character of a war of liberation, in which the working class and the Communists of that country cannot abstain from intervening. It is the task of the Communists of such a country, while carrying on an irreconcilable struggle to safeguard the economic and political positions of the workers, toiling peasants and national minorities, to be, at the same time, in the front ranks of the fighters for national independence and to wage the war of liberation to a finish, without allowing "their" bourgeoisie to strike a bargain with the attacking powers at the expense of the interests of their country.

It is the duty of the Communists actively to support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets in their struggle aganist the Japanese and other imperialists and the Kuomintang. The Communist Party of China must exert every effort to extend the front of the struggle for national liberation and to draw into it all the national forces that are ready to repulse the robber campaign of the Japanese and other imperialists.

IV. FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International most determinedly repudiates the slanderous contention that Communists desire war, expecting it to bring revolution. The leading role of the Communist Parties of all countries in the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the triumph of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, proves that the Communists are striving with all their might to obstruct the preparations for and the unleashing of a new war.

The Communists, while fighting also against the illusion that war can be eliminated while the capitalist system still exists, exert and will exert every effort to prevent war. Should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Congress at the same time warns Communists and revolutionary workers against anarcho-syndicalist methods of struggle against war, which take the form of refusing to appear for military service, the form of a so-called boycott of mobilization, of committing sabotage in war plants, etc. The Congress considers that such methods of struggle only do harm to the proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks, who, during the World War, fought energetically against war and were for the defeat of the Russian government, rejected, however, such methods; these

methods merely make it easier for the bourgeoisie to take repressive measures against Communists and revolutionary workers, and prevent the latter from winning over the toiling masses, especially the soldier masses, to the side of the mass struggle against imperialist war and for its transformation into civil war against the bourgeoisie.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in outlining the tasks of the Communist Parties and of the entire working class in the event of war, bases itself upon the thesis advanced by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and adopted by the Stuttgart Congress of the pre-war Second International:

> "If nevertheless war breaks out, it is their duty to work for its speedy termination and to strive with all their might to utilize the economic and political crisis produced by the war to rouse the political consciousness of the masses of the people and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

At the present historical juncture, when on one-sixth part of the globe the Soviet Union defends Socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policy of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of Socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers *to work, with all means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists.*

The Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and Its World Historic Significance

(Resolution on the Report of D. Z. Manuilsky, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

HAVING heard Comrade Manuilsky's report on *results of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.*, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes with profound satisfaction that, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the all-round consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship have been achieved as a result of carrying through the socialist reconstruction of national economy, of accomplishing the collectivization of agriculture, of squeezing out the capitalist elements and liquidating the kulaks as a class.

1. *Socialist industrialization has been successfully carried through.* The U.S.S.R. has changed from an economically and technically backward agrarian country into a great, advanced, industrial country with its iron and steel production, machinery construction, aviation, automobile and tractor industry, and is becoming a country of electric power and chemical industries. The U.S.S.R. is in a position to manufacture any machine and any instrument of production in its plants. Big industrial towns have sprung up in formerly uninhabited places. The old industrial areas are expanding and new ones are being created. The formerly backward outlying regions and the erstwhile tsarist colonies are being successfully industrialized and, as a result, are being transformed into flourishing, advanced, industrial, national republics and territories. Highly qualified cadres of technicians, organizers and executives have been trained for the numerous and diversified industries and processes of production. The successes already achieved provide new great possibilities for the further growth of the industrialization of the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R.

2. *The greatest revolution has been successfully accomplished in the countryside—the collectivization of agriculture.* With the triumph of the collective farm system, the most difficult task, that of turning the vast majority of the peasantry into the path of socialist development, has been solved in practice. Large-scale mechanized agriculture, organized along socialist lines, has been established. The network of machine and tractor stations is extending. The Soviet (State) farms are gaining strength. The material and productive advantages of the collective farm system have already become a stimulus to the further consolidation of the collective farms and extension of voluntary collectivization. The grain problem has been solved. Livestock raising has improved and is steadily on the upgrade. Thanks to the collective and State farms, the existence of vast stretches of hitherto uncultivated

fertile soil and the turn to intensive methods of agriculture, accompanied by an ever increasing application of technique and scientific principles of farming, guarantee the possibility of the development of socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R. on a tremendous scale.

3. *A radical improvement in the material conditions of the toilers in the U.S.S.R. and a tremendous rise of their cultural level has been achieved.* Unemployment has disappeared. Workers and office employees are growing in number and becoming more highly skilled. Wage and social insurance funds as well as individual wages and social insurance benefits are rising (sanitariums, rest homes, free medical aid, invalid and old-age pensions, etc.). The working day has been reduced to seven and six hours, and the conditions of labor are progressively improving. Food supply difficulties are being successfully overcome (abolition of bread cards; the growing supply of meats and fats for the toilers, as livestock raising keeps on developing). The big cities and industrial centers have changed their appearance. The housing and living conditions of the toilers are steadily improving; in place of the slums which are characteristic of the working class quarters in big cities and industrial centers under capitalism, spacious, light and sanitary workers' homes have already been built and more are being built. Thanks to the collectivization of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, poverty has vanished in the villages, the peasants have secured the opportunity of a well-to-do life and work under conditions which do not exhaust but invigorate them.

Solicitude for people, for the toilers, for cadres and, above all, solicitude for the children, occupy a central place in the activities of the Party, the State, the trade unions and all public organizations. The cultural level of the toilers is rising fast. In all the republics of the Soviet Union universal compulsory elementary education has been introduced, conducted in the native national languages. Millions of children of the workers, peasants and office employees are studying in the secondary schools and universities. A vast network of educational institutions for children under school age, and a system of specialized evening schools, circles and courses for adults have been set up. Tens of thousands of clubs, theatres and cinema houses have been built in working class districts, at factories, in villages. The development and flourishing of the culture, national in form and socialist in content, of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. which were formerly oppressed, neglected and doomed to extinction, but are now free and equal, proceeds apace. Women actively participate in socialist construction on an equal footing with men. Young generations which have grown up under Soviet conditions, which have not known capitalist exploitation or want and deprivation of rights, and recognize only the interests, tasks and aims of socialism, are entering into the construction of socialism. Science and all forms of art have been made accessible to the broadest masses. Academicians, scientists, research workers, actors, writers, painters and masters of every other branch of art have turned to the side of the toilers. No matter how vast all these material and cultural achievements may be, compared with the recent past and with the position of the toilers in capitalist

countries today, they represent merely the beginning of that splendid near future, flourishing in every way and abounding in universal well-being, toward which the Land of Socialism is advancing.

4. *A great political consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship has been achieved.* The Land of the Soviets has the most stable and most impregnable political order. It is a State of developed democracy, not divorced from the masses of the people nor placed in opposition to them, but organically connected with them, defending their interests, expressing their will and carrying it into effect. The profound, radical changes which have taken place in the social structure of the U.S.S.R., as a result of the socialist reconstruction of national economy, the elimination of the exploiting classes and the victory of the collective farm system, have brought about a further expansion and strengthening of the social foundation of the Soviet Power. In accordance with these changes and relying on the increased confidence of the broad masses in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet government has carried out new measures of great historic significance in introducing a further democratization of its system: the substitution of equal suffrage for the previously not entirely equal suffrage, direct for indirect elections, the secret for the open ballot; the extension of electoral rights to include new sections of the adult population, re-enfranchisement of those of the former kulaks who have been deprived of the vote but who have since shown in actual fact, by honest labor, that they have ceased to fight against the Soviet order. The dictatorship of the proletariat is steadily developing along the path of constantly strengthening and widening the direct connections of the Soviet State with the masses of the people, with the overwhelming majority of the population, the path of enhancing the all-round and active direct participation of the masses of the people in the administration of the State and the direction of socialist construction. The development of proletarian democracy which has been attained as a consequence of the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the consolidation of socialist ownership as the basis of Soviet society and the realization of the unity of interests of the vast majority of the population in all the republics of the Soviet Union, enormously strengthens the State of the proletarian dictatorship.

True to its principles of the brotherhood, freedom and independence of all peoples and nations, the Soviet Union unswervingly fights for the preservation of peace between nations, exposes the aggressive plans of the imperialist robbers and takes all the necessary steps to ensure the defense of the Socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world against the menace of a predatory attack by the imperialists. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International records with satisfaction that in place of old tsarist Russia, a country beaten by all, and in place of the weak Soviet country which, in the early days of its development, was faced with the possibility of being partitioned by the imperialists, *a mighty, socialist State* has now arisen.

The U.S.S.R. is becoming a country of the new man, of a new social and individual mode of life of people. In the great workshop of planned socialist labor, founded on socialist competition, on shock work

and the creative initiative of the masses, a great process of remaking people is taking place. The mercenary and anti-social, private property ethics and habits inherited from capitalism are gradually vanishing. The atmosphere of enthusiastic socialist labor facilitates the re-education of criminals and law-breakers. The principle of the inviolability of public property is being instilled in every branch of national economy in town and village. The public opinion of the toiling masses and the practice of self-criticism have become a mighty factor for moral influence, for bringing up people and re-educating them. On the basis of the new attitude towards labor and society that is gaining a firm hold, a new mode of life is being created, the consciousness and psychology of people are becoming reshaped, new generations, healthy, able-bodied, and versatilely developed, are coming into being. From the very midst of the people, organizers, leaders, inventors, bold explorers of the uncharted elements of the Arctic, heroic conquerors of the stratosphere, the air and the depths of the sea, of the summits of mountains and the bowels of the earth, are coming forth in vast numbers. Millions of toilers are storming and mastering the hitherto inaccessible citadels of technique, science and art. The U.S.S.R. is becoming a country of new people, full of purpose, buoyancy and the joy of living, surmounting all difficulties and performing great feats.

5. *The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. was achieved in a determined struggle by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against Right and "Left" opportunism, in a stubborn and protracted struggle to overcome enormous difficulties,* which arose because of the low level of technical and economic development inherited by the country and because of the need to achieve, in a brief space of time, by its own forces and means, and under conditions of hostile encirclement by imperialists, the reconstruction of the technical foundation of national economy and the fundamental reorganization of its social and economic relations. Carrying out this readjustment, and especially the rebuilding of the technical base of agriculture, which was connected with the uniting of small peasant households into large collective farms and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, meant a resolute attack by the proletariat on the capitalist elements. As they lost every economic foundation, the remnants of the exploiting classes, backed by the imperialists, offered desperate resistance, resorted to sabotage, wrecking, the burning of crops, the disruption of sowing campaigns, the extermination of cattle, etc. The proletariat succeeded in crushing the resistance of its enemies, creating a powerful socialist industry, consolidating the collective farm system, surmounting the difficulties connected with the need for rapid advancement of national economy. *The possibility of building up socialism in a single country, brilliantly foreseen by Lenin and Stalin, has become a reality, palpable and tangible, for millions of people throughout the world. The historic question of "who will win" inside the country, the question of the victory of socialism over capitalism in the U.S.S.R., has been finally and irrevocably decided in favor of socialism.* This does not exclude the possibility that the survivors of the routed class enemy, who have lost all hope of preventing the development of

socialism, will do whatever harm they can to the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R.

The further development of triumphant socialism will be accompanied in the U.S.S.R. by difficulties of a different order, difficulties arising out of the need to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people. With the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the world proletarian revolution has gained an impregnable position in the sharpening struggle to decide the question of "who will win" on the international arena.

6. *The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a victory of world importance. Gained, with the support of the international proletariat, by the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the best companion-in-arms of the great Lenin, the wise leader of the toilers of the whole world, Comrade Stalin, the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is causing a profound change in the minds of the toilers of the whole world;* it is convincing the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers and workers of other trends of the necessity of waging a common struggle for socialism, and is a decisive factor in the realization of proletarian fighting unity; it is destroying ideas and conceptions, embedded for centuries, of the capitalist order being eternal and unshakable, is revealing the bankruptcy of bourgeois theories and the schemes to "rejuvenate" capitalist society, *is having a revolutionizing effect on the toiling masses, instilling into them confidence in their own strength and a conviction of the necessity and practical possibility of the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism.* The road of salvation, the road to socialism, already trodden by the living example of the U.S.S.R. is shining brightly before the eyes of millions of toilers in the capitalist and colonial countries, of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Soviet socialist order guarantees:

To the workers—liberation from the horrors of unemployment and capitalist expolitation, the opportunity to work for themselves and not for exploiters, and parasites, to administer the state and national economy, to steadily improve their material conditions, to lead a cultured life.

To the peasants—land and emancipation from their bondage to landlords, moneylenders, bankers, from unbearable taxes—liberation from crises, ruin, degradation and destitution, a steady rise in their prosperity and cultural standards, and a thoroughgoing lightening of their labor.

To the petty bourgeois folk of the towns—liberation from the nightmare of bankruptcy, from the oppression of big capital, from ruin and degeneration, and the opportunity of finding a place as honest toilers in the system of socialist economy, of bringing about a radical improvement in their material and spiritual life.

To the intellectuals—the necessary conditions and the widest scope for the perfection of their knowledge, capabilities and talents, great impulses and wide horizons for creative work, a radical improvement in their material and cultural life.

To peoples of the colonies and dependencies—national emancipation from the yoke of the imperialists, the possibility of rapidly raising their

national economy to the level of the most advanced countries, the advancement and flourishing of their national culture, free and equal active participation in international life.

7. *With the victory of socialism, the U.S.S.R. has become a great political, economic and cultural force which influences world policy. It has become the center of attraction and the rallying point for all peoples, countries and even governments which are interested in the preservation of international peace. It has become the stronghold of the toilers of all countries against the menace of war. It has become a mighty weapon for consolidating the toilers of the whole world against world reaction.*

The victory of socialism, having transformed the U.S.S.R. into a force which sets in motion broad strata of the population, classes, nations, peoples, and states, marks *a new great change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism; it marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution.*

From the historic balance of achievements secured since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, with which the world proletarian movement is approaching the second round of wars and revolutions and which *determines the basic tasks of the world proletarian revolution,* follows the primary duty of the working class and the toilers of the world and of all Sections of the Communist International:

To help with all their might and by all means to strengthen the U.S.S.R. and to fight against the enemies of the U.S.S.R. Both under peace conditions and in the circumstances of war directed against the U.S.S.R., the interests of strengthening the U.S.S.R., of increasing its power, of ensuring its victory in all spheres and in every sector of the struggle, coincide fully and inseparably with the interests of the toilers of the whole world in their struggle against the exploiters, with the interests of the colonial and oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism: they are the conditions for, and they contribute to, the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of socialism throughout the world. Assistance to the U.S.S.R., its defense, and cooperation in bringing about its victory over all its enemies must therefore determine the actions of every revolutionary organization of the proletariat, of every genuine revolutionary, of every Socialist, Communist, non-party worker, toiling peasant, of every honest intellectual and democrat, of each and every one who desires the overthrow of exploitation, fascism and imperialist oppression, deliverance from imperialist war, who desires that there should exist brotherhood and peace among nations, that socialism should triumph throughout the world.

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